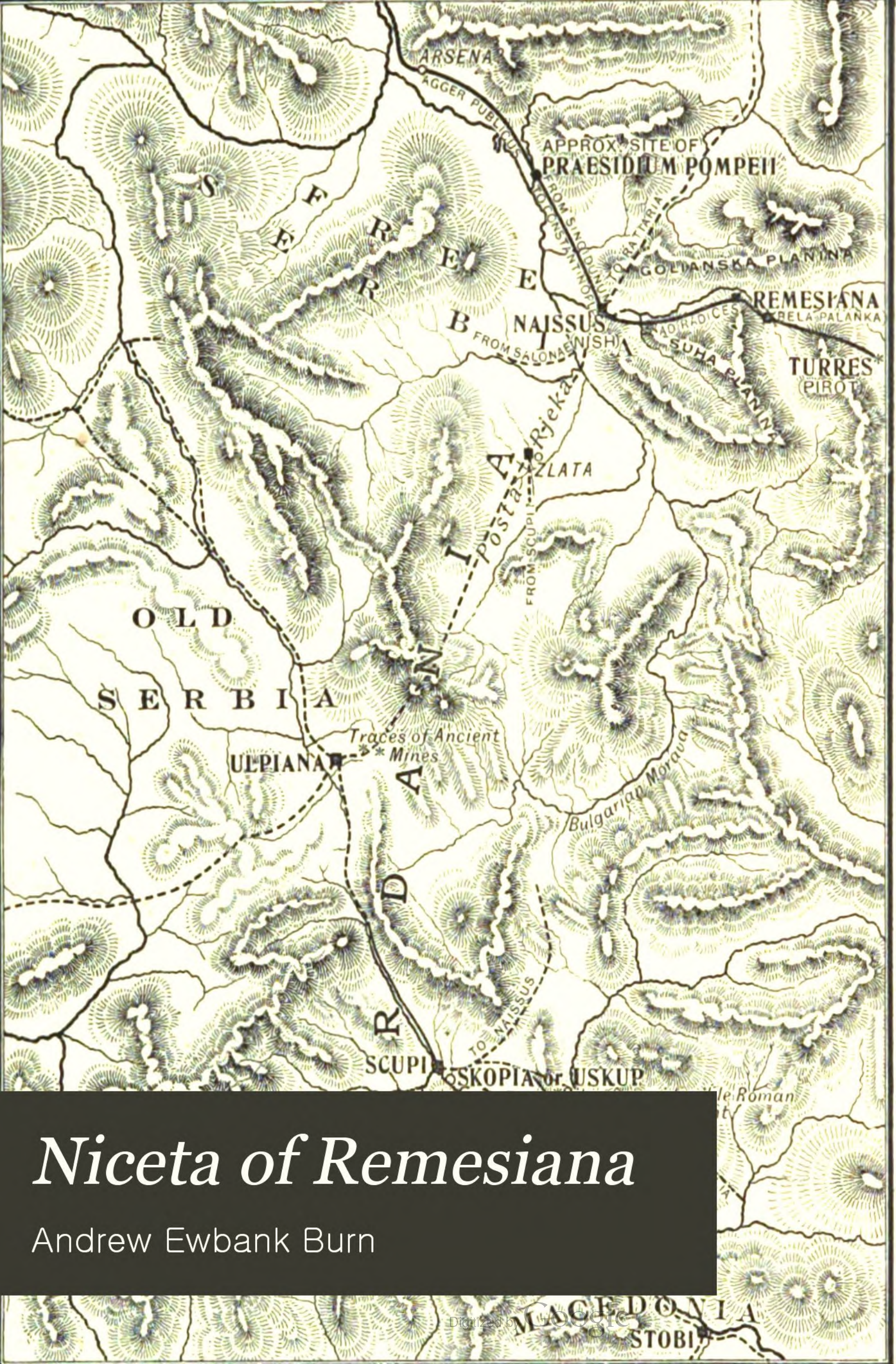
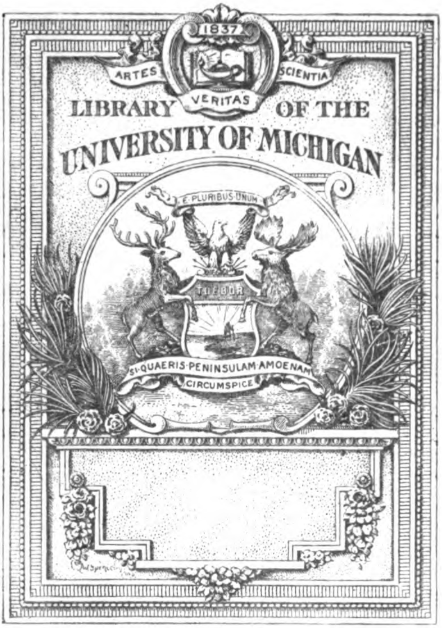


Niceta of Remesiana

Andrew Ewbank Burn


1837
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NICETA OF REMESIANA

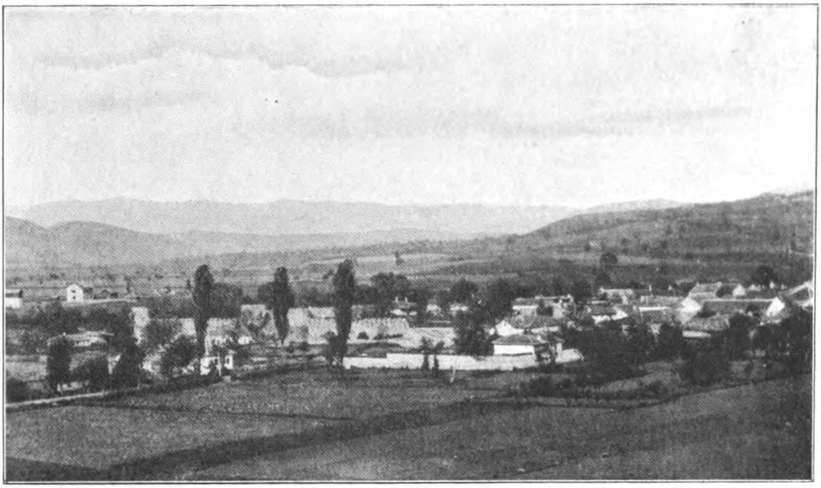
HIS LIFE AND WORKS

NICETA OF REMESIANA

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REMESIANA (*Bêla Palanka*).

Nicetas, Saint, bp. of Remesiana, 4th cent.

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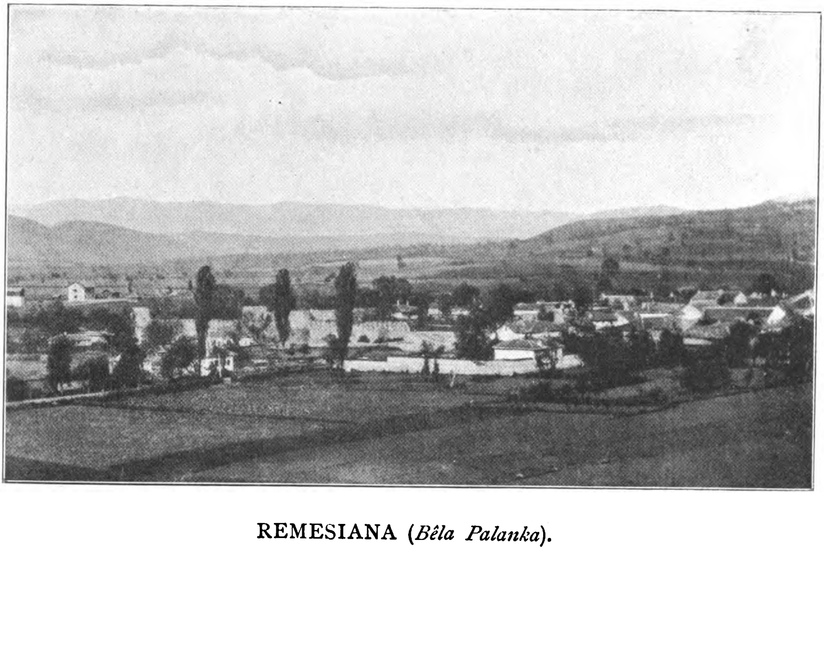
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BY

A. E. BURN, D.D.

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CAMBRIDGE
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1905



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Nicetas, Saint, bp. of Remesiana, 4th cent.

NICETA OF REMESIANA

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

BY

A. E. BURN, D.D.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

RECTOR OF HANDSWORTH AND PREBENDARY OF LICHFIELD

EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD

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DOMINO · GERMANO · MORIN · O·S·B

QVI · SANCTO · NICETAE · REMESIANENSI · EPISCOPO

SVOS · HONORES · RESTITVIT

HOC · MVNVSCVLVM

HAVD · IMMEMOR · BENEFICII

DEDICAT · AMICVS

Sit animus semper in caelo, spes in resurrectione, desiderium in promissione.

NICETA *de symbolo* 14.

PREFACE.

THIS *editio princeps* of the collected works of a forgotten teacher has been a labour of love for the past five years. In a remote country parish it was not always easy to procure necessary books, and my removal to a large town parish has delayed publication and left little leisure for proof-correction. The most important of Niceta's treatises have indeed been edited by Card. Mai, and have appeared in Migne's *Patrologia*, tom. LII and tom. LXVIII, under the names of Nicetas of Aquileia and Nicetius of Trèves. The present edition is based upon the evidence of many new MSS., to collate which I have visited many libraries in France, Italy, and Austria. I desire, as on former occasions, to express my sincere thanks to the Trustees of the Hort Memorial Fund for grants which have enabled me to undertake these long journeys, and to acknowledge much kindness and personal assistance rendered to me by the authorities of the various libraries to which I have had access.

The gratitude of all Christians who use that great "psalm of history," the *Te Deum*, is due to Dom G. Morin, O.S.B., of the Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium, who was the first to maintain the claim of Niceta to be its author. Unable through pressure of other work to undertake such a task himself he has cordially welcomed my project from the first, and has most generously supplied me with information, and in some cases with his own collations.

Indeed it has been my happiness in this work to make many new friends, among whom I have to thank M. L. Delisle, Dr G. Mercati, Rev. H. M. Bannister, and Dom Placido Orilia, O.S.B., for collations, and the authorities of the University Library of Leipzig for the loan of a rare book.

I have also to thank Mr F. C. Burkitt for his valuable note on the Biblical Quotations in Niceta's genuine works and for Index II. I am not convinced by his argument as to the appropriateness of Niceta's ascription of the Magnificat to S. Elizabeth, but the question is one for discussion by specialists. The Bishop of Salisbury has also kindly given me his opinion on this point. I am grateful to Mr A. J. Evans and the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the blocks of some illustrations of his article *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum* (*Archæologia*, Vol. XLVIII); to Mr W. G. Thesiger for a photograph of Bêla Palanka; to Mr C. H. Turner, Rev. F. Puller, Prof. A. Souter, Rev. J. H. Srawley for help of various kinds; to Miss N. Clarke for help with the *Indices*, and to Messrs Methuen for leave to quote the chapter on the *Te Deum* in my *Introduction to the Creeds*.

I can only hope that in spite of its imperfections this book may aid other students, and convey a sufficiently accurate portrait of a character of which history can catch only a passing glimpse, a glimpse, however, that cannot fail to attract and interest and inspire.

A. E. B.

Fest. All Saints, 1904.

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1864. J.-P. Migne, *Patr. lat.* tom. LII. p. 838 ff. *Sancti Nicetae Aquileiensis episcopi opera*, Paris, 1864.

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1894. Dom G. Morin, *Nouvelles Recherches sur l'auteur du "Te Deum,"* Rev. Bénédictine, p. 49.

1895. Dr E. Hümpel, *Nicetas, Bischof von Remesiana, Eine litterarkritische Studie zur Geschichte des altkirchlichen Taufsymbols*, Bonn, 1895.

1896. Dr Theod. Zahn, *Neuere Beiträge zur Geschichte des apostolischen Symbolums*, Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift, VII. 2.

1896. Dr F. Kattenbusch in *Theol. Litz.*, 1896, p. 281. Also in his *Das apostolische Symbol*, vol. I. 1894, vol. II. 1900.

CORRIGENDA

P. 11, l. 10, *read* intellegere
P. 16, l. 23, *read* intellegenda
P. 47, l. 12, and 80, l. 12, *read* tamquam

INTRODUCTION.

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages the name of S. Niceta of Remesiana was almost forgotten, though it was commemorated in some Martyrologies on the 22nd of June. In one ancient Order of Catechising Niċeta was numbered among Doctors of the Church between Hilary and Jerome[1]. But his works lay scattered in many MSS., and no scholar of the Renaissance found any clue to interest him in a writer whose reputation had vanished.

In the 16th century the question of the revision of the Roman Martyrology came up for discussion. In the Hieronymian Martyrology a Bishop Nicetus of holy memory was named after Paulinus of Nola, under the date June 22, and it was supposed that this connexion was suggested by the remembrance of the friendship between them. The Martyrologies of Ado, Usuard, and Ps.-Bede preserved a more definite notice, mentioning the see of Romatiana. Thus a 12th century MS. of Ado has: "Ipso die depositis beati Nicetae Rematianae ciuitatis episcopi[2]." Cardinal Baronius, working at his

[1] *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 6325, *saec.* ix. p. 155 *infra*.

[2] *Act. SS. Boll. ad x. Kal. Julii.* Cf. the following: "Sancti Nicee Romane ciuitatis episcopi" (ex martyrologio ms. membr. monasterii sancti Galli Mosacensis).

edition of the Roman Martyrology, searched for a long time before he could explain the name Romatiana, which he found also in Gennadius (*de uir. illus.*, 22). Finally he decided to identify this Nicetus with Nicetas, Bishop of Aquileia, the correspondent of Leo the Great. He explained that Romatiana = Romana was a description of Aquileia because it was a Roman colony, and in the days of its glory a second Rome. Baronius admitted that Nicetas of Aquileia had not been commemorated even in his own Church before this time. But he maintained his position and arbitrarily transferred the commemoration of the friend of Paulinus to January 7th. In the modern Roman Martyrology we find under January 7th the following: "In Dacia S. Nicetae episcopi, qui feras et barbaras gentes euangelii praedicatione mites reddidit ac mansuetas." This was not done without criticism. De Rubeis[1] preferred to identify the Niceta of Gennadius with the friend of Paulinus. Papebroch questioned the right of Nicetas of Aquileia to canonisation. But Baronius carried his point. Subsequently his argument was bolstered up by a new suggestion. In his Natural History Pliny mentions the harbour of Concordia to the north of the Adriatic. This is some way from Aquileia, but it was assumed that Nicetas, after the destruction of Aquileia by the barbarians, had removed his see to Portus Romatinus, which was identified with the Civitas Romaciana of Gennadius and the Martyrologies. When the Codex Chisianus, which ascribes Niceta's sermon *de Symbolo* to Nicetas of Aquileia, was discovered, it was accepted as confirmation of the theory.

In the 17th century attention was drawn to the

[1] *Mon. eccl. Aquilej.* 1740, cap. xvii. p. 181, and *Diss. uar. erud.* 1762, p. 191 ff.

tracts "On Vigils" and "On the Good of Psalmody," which were rightly ascribed by Ph. Labbe[1] to Niceta of Dacia. Labbe refers to MSS. in the Vatican Library which may have been transcribed for him, and to MSS. in the Library of S. Maximinus at Trèves[2].

In 1723 Luc d'Achery[3] edited both tracts from a St Germains MS. (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 13089), but was led to identify their author with Nicetius of Trèves by his interest in two letters of that Nicetius which had been published by Sirmond. From d'Achery through Galland this edition passed into Migne, *P. L.* LXVIII. (1866).

But in the mean time a new interest had been aroused by the discovery of Niceta's Sermon on the Creed, which had been found by Card. Stephen Borgia in the Library of Prince Chigi at Rome. Compelled by circumstances to leave Rome he took his transcription with him in the hope of finding other MSS. In 1799 he was staying in Padua and presented it to a scholar to be published in honour of the arrival of a new incumbent for the widowed parish of S. Gregory the Great. The editor accepted without question the attribution of the sermon to Nicetas of Aquileia, which is given in the Chigi MS., and fulfilled his task with indifferent success.

A trenchant criticism of this edition soon appeared from the pen of John Prosdocimus Zabeo of Venice, who was a friend of Cardinal Borgia, and gives a very interesting account of the Cardinal's interest in his

[1] *Noua bibliotheca MSS. librorum*, p. 26.

[2] Some of the MSS. from the Monastery of S. Maximinus have found their way to the University Library at Ghent, but I could not find this among them. Dom Morin (*Rev. Bénéd.* 1894, 63 n. 2) notes that J. A. Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Graeca*, ed. Hambourg, 1801, tom. VII. p. 747, changed *S. Maximini Trevirensis* into *S. Maximi Taurinensis*, and his mistake has been repeated by Braida.

[3] *Spicilegium*[2] I. 220.

studies[1]. He accordingly published his treatise[2] in honour of the arrival of a new patriarch of Venice, Ludovicus Flanginius, in 1803. Zabeo's arguments are very good, and it has been a great hindrance to subsequent writers that his treatise is so rare[3]. He deals first with the confusion between Romatiana (= Remesiana) and Aquileia, which he traces to Baronius, who had identified the *Niceas Romatianae ciuitatis episcopus* of Gennadius with Niceas, a subdeacon of Aquileia, who was a correspondent of S. Jerome[4], and explained Ciuitas Romatiana (= Romana) as another name for Aquileia. Zabeo was very contemptuous of such conjectures, which were readily accepted by the writer whom he was criticising: "Putat Baronius, putat Hortelius, uero similius uidetur Baudrando." As for de Rubeis, though he had contradicted Baronius and argued that the Niceta of Gennadius was Niceta Dacus, Zabeo despised him for publishing under false pretences, substituting Strassburg for Venice on his title-page[5]. One feels that the Venetian critic was justified in his indignation. Zabeo himself

[1] Patauii hospitabatur anno 1799, in ea scilicet urbe, ubi litteratissimum hominem diuersari oportuerat. Dono ibi dedit hoc opus, ut eo edito noui Parochi ad uiduam S. Gregorii Magni plebem accessus celebraretur. Quid mihi legenti librum de illius auctore uisum fuerit initio Dissertationis edixi. Mea ad sapientissimum Cardinalem delata sententia est; atque ille datis litteris fouit mea studia, et in uulgus ferri quid ipse sentirem humanissime persuasit.

[2] "Explanationem symboli quae prodiit Patauii anno MDCCXCIX tribuendam probabilius esse S. Niceae Dacorum episcopo quam B. Nicetae episcopo Aquilejensi, Venetiis, MDCCCIII, Typis Antonii Rosa, Io. Prosdocimi Zabeo S. TH. DOCT. ET IN REGIO VEN. GYMN. PROFESS."

[3] I owe my introduction to its merits to Dr Kunze of Leipzig, through whose kind offices I obtained the loan of it from the University Library at Leipzig.

[4] *Ep.* 42 (or 8) Migne, *P. L.* XXII. 341.

[5] Videatur eius opus (Monumenta eccl. Aquilej.), quod Venetiis sub mentito Argentinae nomine prodiit anno 1740.

takes the first-hand evidence of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Itinerarium Antonii Augusti*, and the Acts of the second council of Ephesus, to prove the existence of the town of Remesiana in Dacia. He then proves that Niceta was that Dacian missionary bishop whom the Roman Martyrology commemorates, not the subdeacon Niceas of Aquileia. He regarded the names Niceas and Nicetas as related like Joseph and Josephus, but admitted that in the MSS. of Jerome the forms Niciam and Nicetam are also found. He also discussed the reading of a MS. of Gennadius which has Romanae for Romatianae[1]. A more important clue is mentioned in the testimony of *Henricus Clericus Pomposiani Monasterii*, who in his catalogue of MSS. in his abbey includes the treatises of Niceta *de ratione fidei*, *de Spiritus sancti potentia*, *de diuersis appellationibus Domino nostro Iesu Christo conuenientibus*. We need not now follow Zabeo into the discussion of the authorship of the *de lapsu uirginis*. Enough has been said to show that he thoroughly understood the problem, and with limited knowledge[2] pointed out the right path to future critics.

For many years to come, however, the critics followed the old way of Baronius. As Dom Morin happily expresses it, "Parochialism (la question de clocher) had its part to play in the matter." Peter Braida[3] published at Udine a large volume to maintain the rights of Nicetas of Aquileia, to whom he attributed all the writings named by Gennadius.

[1] On p. xxii. he discourses on the pronunciation of the letter H, and derives the corruption of Romatiana from the Greek sound of Ῥώμη. H = ε or ι, hence Romessiana was easily converted into Remessiana or Romissiana (Remissiana).

[2] He had only the *de symbolo* and the (supposed) *de lapsu uirginis* in his hands, though he knew of the names of others through Fabricius.

[3] *S. Nicetae Episc. Aquilej. opuscula duo*, Utino, 1810.

In 1827 Card. Mai[1] followed on the same lines, publishing the *de ratione fidei*, *de Spiritus sancti potentia*, *de diuersis appellationibus*, and *de symbolo*, under the name of Nicetas of Aquileia, together with some poems of Paulinus of Nola, the friend of the Dacian Niceta. It is strange indeed that his study of Paulinus did not reveal to him his mistake. In 1833[2] he published a revised edition, adding the fragments which had been discovered by M. Denis at Vienna[3]. Denis argued that these fragments and the other treatises should be attributed to the Dacian Niceta. But Card. Mai remained unconvinced, and his text with Braida's dissertation was reprinted in Migne, *P. L.* LII. 1864.

A long gap of fifty years followed the publication of Mai's text, until the veteran explorer Dr C. P. Caspari, of Christiania, published a new transcription of the Sermon on the Creed from the Chigi MS. with the readings of some Austrian MSS. in which he had found a recension of it ascribed to Origen[4]. Some years later Dr F. Kattenbusch took up the question in his Programme[5], and discussed it further in the first volume of his History of the Apostles' Creed[6]. He decided to attribute the Sermon on the Creed, with the other dogmatic writings found under this name, to a Gallican Nicetas. While Kattenbusch's book was in the press there appeared in the Benedictine Review for February, 1894, an important article by Dom G. Morin, O.S.B., in which he reviewed

[1] *SS. episcoporum Nicetae et Paulini scripta ex Vaticanis codicibus edita*, Roma, 1827.

[2] *Scriptorum uet. noua coll.* VII. p. 314 ff.

[3] *Codd. MSS. theol. Biblioth. Palat. Vindob.* ii. III. p. 2042 ff.

[4] "Nicetas von Aquileja's Auslegung des Symbols" in *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, p. 341, 1883.

[5] *Beiträge zur Gesch. des altkirchlichen Taufsymbols*, Giessen, 1892.

[6] *Das apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1894.

the whole problem, and suggested that this series of writings should be ascribed to the Dacian Niceta, and also the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, since a distinct class of MSS. of Irish *provenance* ascribed the authorship to a Nicetius or Neceta. Dom Morin has published other articles which will be referred to in due order, but at this point I am only concerned to explain the main points at issue between him and Dr Kattenbusch, who replied to him in an Appendix[1] and elsewhere[2]. Kattenbusch accepts Morin's theory that the Dacian Niceta, the friend of Paulinus, wrote the tracts on Vigils and Psalmody and the *Te Deum*, but maintains that Paulinus speaks only of Niceta's gifts as a writer of hymns, not of treatises on dogmatic theology. On the other hand Gennadius, who describes the series on dogma, says nothing of poetical and liturgical writings. Kattenbusch is constrained further to regard the form of Renunciation and the form of Creed in the Sermon on the Creed as Gallican forms, and therefore concludes that there were two Nicetas, the one a poet, the other a theologian, whom Gennadius confused, ascribing to the Dacian bishop a series of writings which he had found under that name.

It would be easy to explain the difficulty about the form of Creed, if it is really Gallican, by the supposition that the Dacian Niceta had been educated in Gaul. This was suggested by J. P. Kirsch[3], and the suggestion was favourably received by Kattenbusch[4]. But the main difficulty would remain about the apparent discrepancy between the accounts given by Paulinus and Gennadius.

[1] Vol. I. App. 5.

[2] Vol. II. pp. 441, 974, n. 21, *Theol. Litz.* 1896, No. 11.

[3] *Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im christl. Altertum*, 1900, p. 220.

[4] II. p. 979.

This, however, is not a real difficulty with regard to Paulinus, who speaks of Niceta's learning in terms which quite authorise us to expect that he would write theological works. Surely there is less risk in assuming that Niceta's liturgical writings were not known to Gennadius than in assuming that Gennadius, himself a Gallican writer, by mistake transferred the works of a Gallican to a Dacian bishop.

In 1895 appeared also a monograph by Dr E. Hümpel[1]. He attributed the whole series of dogmatic writings to the Dacian Niceta, and collected much interesting information about the district of Remesiana. Hümpel was a pupil of Dr Theod. Zahn, who himself published an impartial and characteristically complete survey of the whole problem in his *Neuere Beiträge zur Geschichte des apostolischen Symbolums*[2], and without hesitation accepted Dom Morin's solution.

To this summary of the literature I may add three references to the works of Niceta in three ancient catalogues, which have been published by Becker[3].

A 10th century catalogue of the MSS. of Bobbio, published by Muratori[4]:

233. librum instructionis Nicetae episcopi I.

A 10th century catalogue of the MSS. of the Monastery of S. Nazarius at Lorsch[5]:

370. expositio Candidi presbyteri de passione Domini. expositio cuiusdam super Esaiam prophetam. excerptio super Esaiam

[1] *Nicetas, Bischof von Remesiana. Eine litterarkritische Studie zur Geschichte des altkirchlichen Taufsymbols*, Bonn, 1895. (N. JB. f. d. Theol. IV.)

[2] *Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift*, VII. 2.

[3] G. Becker, *Cathalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, pp. 67, 108, 160.

[4] *Antiquitat. Italicarum* tom. III. 817–24.

[5] Ed. Mai, *Spicileg. Rom.* tom. V. 161, e *cod. Vatic.* 1877.

Iosephi Scoti. liber Rhabani Mauri in deuteronomium. liber Niceti de aequalitate Dei patris et Dei filii lib. I. et eiusdem de Spiritu sancto. in uno codice.

An 11th century catalogue of the Library at Pompuse, in a letter sent in 1093: Epistola Henrici Clerici ad Stephanum[1]:

T 11. XII. lib. Ambrosii de trinitate. Fulgentii de trinitate liber I. Eiusdem de creaturis a Deo de nihilo creatis lib. I. Nicetae episcopi de ratione fidei I. eiusdem de spiritus sancti potentia lib. I. eiusdem de diuersis appellationibus Domino nostro Iesu Christo conuenientibus.

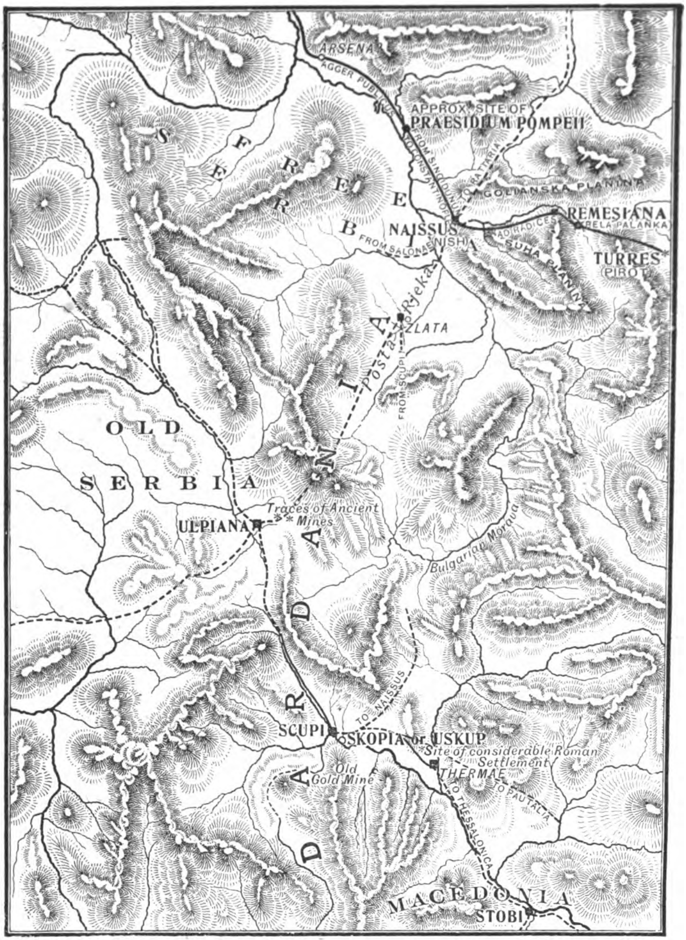
The sign T is explained in the letter as follows: "Nota autem prudens lector, quia citius ut dignoscere ualeas unumquemque librum, quoniam plures in uno uolumine sunt, ubicunque figura in modum literae Γ et quotquot tituli intra T et Γ continentur in uno tantum adsunt connexi uolumine." This letter, as we have seen, was known to Zabeo.

None of the MSS. referred to in these catalogues have yet been found, but there are many libraries on the Continent which have not been searched. In particular Spanish libraries will, I believe, reward research, because Isidore of Seville quoted Niceta freely, so that we know that such MSS. came to Spain. But they may turn up anywhere[2]. A 9th century sermon on the Apostles' Creed, which I found at S. Gall[3] (*Cod.* 27), has a quotation from Niceta, and there are quotations in the works of Alcuin, so that we may conjecture that a good many copies of Niceta's works existed up to the 10th century.

[1] Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, 1702, pp. 81–95.

[2] Since these words were printed two new MSS. of the *de psalmodiae bono* have been found at Cava, and Madrid! See p. lxxxvii f.

[3] The comment begins "Symbolum est quod seniores." There are other MSS. at Brussels (*Cod.* 9188, *saec.* x.) and Munich (*Cod. lat.* 14501, *saec.* xii.).



From a Sketch Map of Dardania prepared by Mr Arthur J. Evans from personal observation

Sites of Roman Municipia and Stations ▪ ▪

Sites where Roman Remains have been discovered *

Roman Roads ——

Conjectural course of Roman Roads - - - -

Archaeologia, vol. XLIX.

Indeed, new MSS. have been found every year for three or four years, and one object of this edition, which is avowedly incomplete, is to help on the work of research.

§ 1. REMESIANA AND ITS DISTRICT.

The Municipium of Remesiana lay on the great military road which traversed the centre of the Illyrian peninsula, the main highway between Western Europe and Constantinople, the new Rome. Its site is now occupied by the Servian village of Bêla Palanka, which is called by the Turks Mustafa Pasha Palanka, some 24 miles S.E. from Nisch, the ancient Naissus. The road keeps at first to the plain, then passes through woods past Mt Sucha Planina. At a height of 636 metres it enters the *regio Remesiana* and descends a ravine through which flows the Nĭsava, to Remesiana (275 m.)[1].

The *Itinerarium Antonii Augusti* gives the distance as follows: Naisso xxiii | Remisiana (*sic*) xxv | Turribus (Pirot) xviii. With this agrees the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, except in the spelling Rômesiana.

The *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* of the year 333 A.D. makes the distance slightly greater: ciuitas Naisso xii | mutatio Radicibus xii mutatio Ulmo vii mansio Romansiana (*sic*) viiii, | mutatio Latina viiii, mansio Turribus viiii.

The city seems to have been founded by the Emperor Trajan and its official name was *Respublica Ulpianorum*. In the 4th century it belonged to the province of Dacia Mediterranea, but it is by no means easy to follow the kaleidoscopic changes in the naming of the Dacias. It is, however, certain that it had belonged to the

[1] Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel*, Prag, 1877.

province of Upper Moesia in the previous century, since Mr A. J. Evans, who has carefully explored the whole neighbourhood, found an inscription walled into a house opposite the old Turkish Palanka or fort, "recording the erection of a votive altar for the health of the Emperors Carus and Carinus by the province of Upper Moesia[1]." At that time Upper Moesia included Dacia Mediterranea to which had been added Dardania.

In 386 they were again divided, Dardania having Scupi as its metropolis while Dacia Mediterranea had Sardica.

There are still some traces visible of Niceta's city. Mr Evans writes of the "singularly Roman aspect of the old Turkish palanka," an oblong *castrum* with a northern and southern gate and bastion towers at the angles. "The walls themselves are largely composed of squared blocks and tiles from the ancient city, and are certainly partly built on older foundations[2]."

Mr Evans was shown a marble fragment, which had been recently discovered, and "proved to be of the highest interest in connexion with the Christian traditions of Remesiana. It contained part of a Roman inscription—judging by the characters—of fourth or fifth century date, and evidently relating to the dedication of a church, which may well have been the actual church of S. Niceta."

The present state of the inscription is too imperfect to admit of confidence in its restoration. Mr Evans[3] suggests the following:

[1] See his valuable paper *Antiquarian researches in Illyricum*, *Archaeologia*, vol. XLIX. p. 163.

[2] p. 164.

[3] Mr Evans regards it as certain that the inscription contained the names of S. Peter and S. Paul, and compares the recently discovered dedication slab of the Christian Basilica of Salonae, which "has an

† ECCLESIA[M PROTEGANT PE]
TRVS ET P[AVLVS APOSTOLI]
SANT[IQVE OMNES]



The coupling of the two Apostles' names has been found in other early dedications, of which that of the Roman basilica of *S. Pietro in Vincoli* is the most interesting[1]. The founder Sixtus III. (Xystus) was Pope from 432—440 A.D. and inscribed the following lines:

Haec Petri Paulique simul nunc nomine signo
Xystus Apostolicae sedis honore fruens.
Vnum quaeso pares unum duo sumite munus,
Vnus honor celebrat quos habet una fides.

invocation of Divine Protection on the Roman Commonwealth, then synonymous with Christendom." He infers that we may look for some kind of invocation in this case. Surely if the Saints had been invoked the inscription would run thus: "ecclesiam protegite Petre et Paule apostolique sanctique omnes." But it does not go beyond the expression of a wish for their protection.

[1] Mr Evans quotes also the dedications of the Church of S. Peter in the

The dedication has also an interest in relation to the close ecclesiastical connexion which subsisted between Illyricum and the Apostolic See. The Illyrian bishops, through their metropolitans and primate, acknowledged the patriarchal authority of the bishops of Rome. The personal relations of Niceta himself with Italy are a proof of the solidarity of Latin-speaking Illyricum with the cities of Latin Christianity. And in one passage of his *de psalmodiae bono* he speaks of the Easterns in a phrase which proves that he classed his hearers with the Western Church.

Reference to Mr Evans' map (p. xviii.) will show at a glance how thoroughly Romanized the whole neighbourhood had become by the 4th century. In his investigations in the neighbourhood of Scupi, identified by him, as by Duchesne, with Prima Justiniana, some 80 miles to the south of Remesiana, Mr Evans found Roman inscriptions even in remote glens. This helps us to understand the opposition of the Latin-speaking population of this district at a later period to the Greek administration of Byzantium. It also throws light on the route which Niceta chose on his return home after one of his visits to Italy.

In an account of Remesiana it is necessary to take into consideration also the proximity of Naissus (Nisch), which was important as the junction of six roads—to Scupi, Ulpiana, Salonae, Singidunum (Belgrade), Ratiaria, and Remesiana—the last of which was the highroad to Sardica and Constantinople. At the Council of Sardica in 343 Gaudentius, Bishop of Naissus, proposed that all bishops on the main road (ἐν τῷ καναλίῳ) should be held responsible for watching the movements of their

Aliscamps at Arles, of the Church at Loja in Spain, and of Justinian's basilica at Constantinople.

brethren when they travelled at the public expense, and refuse to sign their papers if they were not able to prove that they were engaged on business of public interest. It is a strange commentary on the condition of Imperial local government, showing the perils of an over-centralised government which could not check such abuses, and also how great was the temptation to worldly ecclesiastics, such as were some political Arians, to go to court to advance their own interests.

We have no information as to the general condition of municipal affairs in Remesiana at this period, though, apart from the special troubles of the Gothic invasion, the evidence of the Theodosian Code gives us a gloomy view. The general position has been ably described by Dill[1]: "The centralisation of government and the multiplication of imperial functionaries had extinguished the free civic life, which was in an earlier period the greatest glory of Roman administration. The popular assemblies lost their right of electing to the municipal magistracies; the local senate, or curia, was no longer composed of men who had held these offices, but of the landholders who possessed more than twenty-five jugera. At the same time, the curia became less concerned with the local interests of its municipality, and more and more burdened with duties to the imperial government. Their responsibilities, indeed, as the governing body of their community, were heavy enough. They had the management of its finances, and full liabilities for its debts and deficits. They had the charge of the police, and of all roads, bridges, and public buildings. They had certain duties in connexion with the corn supply and the relief of the poor. When they rose to the higher local magistracies they had to bear heavy, and sometimes

[1] *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 250.

ruinous, expenses for the amusements of the populace, prescribed by opinion and custom, if not by law. But far heavier and more crushing than these were their obligations to the State." They were liable personally for the whole amount of imperial taxes payable by the district, for military commissariat, and for the maintenance of the posting service. No wonder that the curiales often abused their trust.

Such were the miserable social conditions under which a Christian Bishop had to live and preach honesty. No wonder that many fled to the desert and valued the peace of monastic life apart from the current of public affairs. Niceta however did not abandon his post, but preached to those who were living in the world the ideal of an unworldly life. Beyond the significant addition of *fraudibus* to *furtis* in his teaching on Renunciation his writings do not reflect the unsettlement of social conditions.

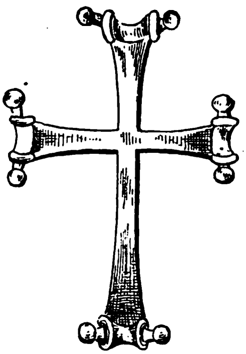
There is another result of Mr Evans' researches which claims attention at this point. Not far from Naissus in the direction of Ulpiana, and again near Scupi, traces have been found of gold-mines. The independent gold-washers, *auri leguli* as they were called, who took the proceeds of their labours to the local officers of the mines, and were paid by a regulation scale, were free to go to and fro, and must often have been seen in the streets of Remesiana. Niceta did not neglect the man in the street for those of higher social position. Paulinus of Nola commends his desire to turn these 'shrewd' miners into golden men:

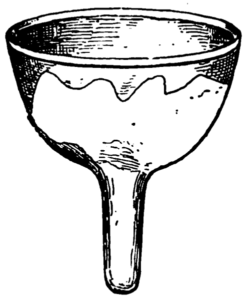
> callidos auri legulos in aurum
> uertis inque ipsis imitaris ipsos
> e quibus uiuum fodiente uerbo
> eruis aurum[1].

[1] *Carm.* xvii. 269.

Niceta himself uses their trade in an illustration[1]: "Sicut nec aurilegus ante aurum mittit in saeculum nisi prius terram uel limum lauerit uniuersum." This is important as proving that the illustration was familiar to the congregations whom he addressed.

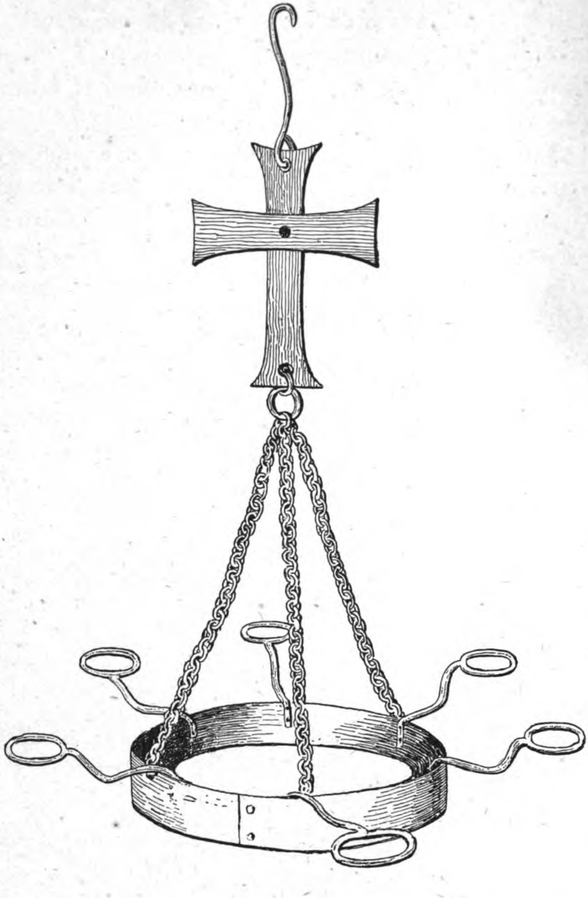
At Pirot, a few hours further on the Roman Via Militaris, Mr Evans found some other relics of Roman Christianity. "In the suburbs of the town, beneath the floor of the small, half-ruinous Church of St John the Divine, the foundations of what had evidently been a far earlier church had recently been uncovered. Visiting the spot, I observed some Roman tilework...and was shown a curious relic of the early prae-Slavonic Christianity of the spot,—a bronze *Corona* suspended from a cross, fragments of the glass, bell-shaped lamps, which it had once supported, and another small detached cross, also of bronze. The shape of the crosses bears an obvious resemblance to those on the dedicatory slab from Remesiana, and both may be safely referred to the same period[2]."





[1] Frag. 3, p. 53.

[2] *Art. cit.* p. 167.



§ 2. CHURCH HISTORY IN DACIA AT THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

The history of a man's times is the best introduction to the history of his life. Such study is the more necessary when the majority of incidents in it are obscure, and the

student, piecing together with difficulty the chief outward events of the history, can only guess at the inward working of causes of thought and action.

The term of Niceta's life covers the period of the final struggle with Arianism, and extends to the beginning of the 5th century. This may be described as one of the saddest periods of which any record has been preserved in literature. The breaking up of the Roman Empire seemed to be imminent. Everywhere men's hearts failed them for fear of impending wars. At point after point the barbarians, whom the strong rule of the Illyrian Emperors had restrained along the banks of the Danube for nearly 100 years, had crossed the frontiers of the Empire. The Goths, when they had avenged their cruel wrongs in the wild slaughter of Hadrianople, were entering the service of Roman Emperors by thousands, impelled in part by the instinct of self-preservation to unite in war against the savage Huns who pressed on behind them in the great tide of immigration westward. But the glamour of former victories and of Roman civilisation, which even in decay was glorious, attracted the Goths no less than fear impelled them to offer their swords and their native strength to be the last prop of Imperial defence before the fatal day came of the sack of Rome, when the doom of the old political system was sealed.

And the Goths, now servants, soon to be masters within Imperial Rome itself, were Arians. Christianity had conquered even in the wild confusion of frontier wars of race against race. Was the Gothic ruler in Rome to impose by the sword a rule of faith which the great Council of Nicaea had so decisively rejected as alien to the true principles of Christian doctrine? During many years of peace within the Empire the battles of orthodoxy had been fought with varying success. But

the issue was now certain. At the moment of its greatest success the Arian party was doomed by the very declaration of its policy. Its course flourished only in an atmosphere of intrigue, of suspicion, in the twilight of partial ignorance. When the time came that its cause was known, its most religious supporters left it in dread of consequences which they had not foreseen—to accept the Nicene Faith as the bulwark of the true sense of Scripture as to the Revelation of God in Christ. Thus when, by one of the strange surprises of history, an Arian Gothic conqueror sat on the throne of the Caesars, Arianism was a lost cause.

It should be remembered that the great name of Ulfilas († 381), Apostle of the Goths, Arian bishop as he was, is unsullied by the stain of deceit; that he was not involved in discreditable political intrigues; that he belonged to the period when Arians were still a party within the Church claiming, many of them in good faith, to use the same buildings, the same liturgy, the same Sacraments, ready—as martyrdoms among the disciples of Ulfilas proved—to sacrifice even life itself for Christ's sake. With such faith the orthodox party had no quarrel. It was not such faith which inspired the leaders of contentious Arianism, such as Acacius and Eunomius. It was to guard such faith that Nicene leaders endured persecution, and with men of such faith they only desired to live in godly union and concord. This is shown without doubt by the tracts *De Synodis*, which both S. Hilary and S. Athanasius wrote to win over Semi-arians to a knowledge of the strength found in a complete belief in the Divinity of our Lord. But they cared for deeds, not words, and the deeds of Ulfilas outweigh for us the mistake which he made in signing the Confession of the Council of Constantinople in 360.

These considerations, it is true, lie outside the line of our present investigation. So far as we know, Niceta was not brought into personal relations with Ulfilas. He too was a missionary bishop, who had Goths among his disciples, but the scanty details known of his work seem to imply that these were converts from heathenism. His own training had been orthodox from the first, and his active career only overlapped that of Ulfilas for some fourteen years. New times brought up new questions. Niceta's anxiety was to defend the doctrine of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which was a stumbling-block to some who were almost persuaded of the truth of Nicene teaching on the Godhead of the Son. His arguments will come before us later, but our present interest is rather in his action. While the Western Empire lay in the throes of dissolution, while strife within the Church threatened to become internecine, the great issues of the future were decided in what in modern phrase we should call the sphere of Foreign Missions. There, as in all times, faith is shown by works; and time, proving all things, tests the vitality of systems of faith which in such holy rivalry appear at their best. And it may well offer food for reflection to record that Niceta, in his self-denying labours among the tribes of the mountain glens of Haemus and Rhodope, which extended east and south from Remesiana, and among the Scythians of the north, became an apostle to Dacia[1] through missionary labours not less abundant than those of Ulfilas, while his chief theological work, its value proved, obtained enthusiastic praise from Cassiodorus, the trusted minister of Theodoric, as of other Ostrogothic rulers of Italy[2].

[1] Paulinus Nol. *Carm.* xvii. 249: et Getae currunt et uterque Dacus, i.e. *Dacia ripensis* as well as *Dacia mediterranea*. [2] *Vide* p. 155.

Men live, however, in the present not in the future. It is well to begin by tracing the main currents of events both in political and ecclesiastical history to the fall of Rome and the failure of Arianism. But the pathetic interest of a life is to be sought in watching the man's efforts to be and do in ignorance of the future, in conflict with the emergencies of the present.

Indeed, Niceta's lot was cast in troublous times. Throughout this period a Christian Bishop of Dacia had to face the constant pressure of heathenism. It was not only heathenism raised to power while the apostate Julian reigned (361–363), so that Christians were excluded from many of the offices and honours to which, under Christian Emperors, they had legitimately aspired. Ostracism in social life, like persecution of a more virulent kind, might be welcomed to purify the motives of converts to Christianity and to stiffen the resolution of those who, living in the world, were pledged to be not of the world. A more subtle danger lay in the reform of heathenism itself—a reform which Julian encouraged and certainly stimulated, but did not begin, nor did it end with his death. It may fairly be said that he was strongly influenced for good by his Christian education. But the reform of heathenism may be traced to circles beyond the scope of his personal influence, and to causes beyond the limits of the old Roman theology, of the 'business-like and utilitarian' Roman worship to which Julian sacrificed his conscience. The living paganism of the time "came from the East—from Persia, Syria, Egypt—the homes of a conception of religion which was alien to the native spirit both of Greece and Rome[1]." The most impressive of these Oriental cults was that of Mithra,

[1] Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Roman Empire*, p. 80.

which, as Mr Dill has well put it, "gave expression to the growing tendency to monotheism, and to the craving for moral support, purification, and comfort through religion which became more and more imperious in the third and fourth centuries." The monuments of this cult have been found all over the Roman world, and it is the representative of a new spirit in heathenism which had certainly to be reckoned with among the Romanised population of Dacia, as well as the coarser forms of heathen belief and crude hero worship[1] among a tribe like the Bessi. Mithraism, which began as Sun worship, was in the fourth century worship of an all-seeing, all-pervading Power, who conquers spirits of darkness, and with peace gives to the purified believer hope of immortality. No wonder that Christian thinkers regarded it as a most dangerous foe. Prudentius[2] ascribed the resemblance of its ritual to Christian ritual to the ingenuity of demons. Niceta also speaks of the devil as "shrewdly envious of divine things," and as having added "holy night services and vigils to his feasts[3]." At its best, however, such seeking after truth, even when combined with the most enlightened teaching of Neoplatonic philosophy, had not done more than purify social life in the more cultured circles, especially in the provinces. The mass of the people were a prey to the grossest superstitions, the victims of the latest fortune-teller, with no moral principles which could make headway against the cruelties of the arena, or the obscenities of the theatre, or the many incitements to wrong and robbery which the unsettled condition of the province could offer.

[1] *Vide* p. xxxvi. Gennadius records that Niceta had to write against hero worship.

[2] *Peristeph.* x. 1008; cf. Paulin. Nol. *Poem.* *VII.* 112.

[3] *De uigiliis*, 4.

Niceta was constrained to write a treatise against the casting of horoscopes (Bk IV.)[1], and to remind his converts that their Baptismal Vow of Renunciation included giving up "universal curiosity in magic arts, (strange) cults, idols, lots and auguries, pomps and theatres, thefts and dishonesty, fornication and drunkenness, dances and deceits[2]."

When Mr A. J. Evans was travelling in the neighbourhood of Scupi, some 30 miles from Remesiana, he witnessed a strange survival of the cult of Jupiter the Cloud-compeller. At Ibrahimovce in time of drought all the villagers, both Christian and Mohammedan, go to the old Roman altar and restore it to its upright position, pouring libations of wine over it and praying for rain. After the lapse of so many centuries Niceta's book against Gentile errors[3] would not, it seems, be out of date in that district.

The crude hero worship of the more ignorant villagers, though it was as difficult to conquer, was less degrading than the vices of the towns. According to Gennadius Niceta related in this book "that not far from his own time a certain Melodius, father of a family, on account of his liberality, and Gadarius a peasant, on account of his bravery, were placed by the heathen among the gods."

The references to pomps, theatres, fornication, drunkenness, dances, in the Dacian Vow of Renunciation show that the sight of flaunting vice had corrupted the hearts of the townsfolk. The condemnation of Christian mora-

[1] Gennadius gives it the title *aduersus Genethliologiam*. But it is one of the lost books.

[2] Cp. Cyril's warning against astrology *Cat.* iv. *ad fin.*

[3] Gennadius calls it *de Gentilitatis erroribus*, which is wrongly translated in the *Library of Nicene Fathers*, series ii. vol. III. p. 390, *On the errors of relationship*. *Gentilitas* must be an abstract name for the whole system of Gentile or pagan idolatry.

lists, such as S. Jerome and Salvianus of Marseilles, which fell so heavily on Christian society in Italy and Gaul, was probably deserved in Dacia also. There was need of a wrestling not with flesh and blood, but against powers of evil, and over the minds of thoughtful men brooded a foreboding of coming judgment. It was to explain such fears to the men who felt them, to encourage the faint-hearted in the dreary warfare against ceaseless foes, to contrast with the miseries of earth the unfailing happiness of heaven, that S. Augustine wrote his book *On the City of God*, while Italy was threatened by the first waves of invaders. Years before the tide had swept into Dacia, where a horde of Gothic refugees ranged over the country from Sirmium to Thessalonica, and after the disaster of Hadrianople were allowed to settle where they could. From that time on to the gloomier days still when Paulinus feared that the outbreak of war would hinder Niceta from coming to visit him, such a shadow of death had rested over the province. We are entitled to argue by analogy from the pages of Augustine what were likely to be the thoughts of Roman citizens in Remesiana under similar circumstances.

It is worth while to note how the missionary labours of a Christian Bishop like Niceta were laying the foundations of a new civilisation of which the twentieth century does not see the end. Men could not foresee in that terrible time the triumph of eternal principles of law and order, the part which Roman law, and the tradition of Roman organisation, should play in the education of barbarian chiefs. But devotion to the duty of missionary effort brought its reward. Before the Goths yielded to the spell and sought the service of Imperial Rome, many of them had begun to seek the higher service of Him "whom to serve is to reign."

Thus the power of the kingdom of heaven, like hidden leaven, from the remotest provinces to the Eternal City, was ceasefully and successfully moulding the characters of men as it would mould the destined statesmen and reformers of nations yet to be.

Some such reflections are needful to enable us to set in their proper historical background the few facts which are known about the personal history of Niceta. I will endeavour to illustrate them also from his extant writings, remembering that this is but an outline which may need correction by future research.

§ 3. THE EARLY LIFE OF NICETA AND THE *DE DIVERSIS APPELLATIONIBVS.*

The name Niceta is derived from the Greek νικητής, as *patriarcha* from πατριάρχης. Indeed Paulinus of Nola more often uses the Greek name Nicetas than its Latin equivalent[1]. There is evidence for the form Niceta in inscriptions[2], and it is preserved in two MSS. of Gennadius[3]. Other MSS. of Gennadius read Nicetas, and Niceas, which is a transcription of Νικίας. Cassiodorus quotes the name as Nicetus, and it was also corrupted into Nicetius and Nicesius.

Early writers were misled by the form Nicetas quoted in the *Cod. Chisianus* of the *De symbolo* because the sermon is referred to Nicetas of Aquileia. But the true tradition was preserved in one MS. of the Irish Book of Hymns which in a curious preface to the

[1] Nicetes, *Carm.* xvii. 165, xxvii. 164, 182, 231, 248; Niceta, *Carm.* xvii. 149.

[2] Cp. *C. I. L.* v. 3948.

[3] *Cod. Vatic. Reg.* 2077, saec. vi. vii., and *Bibl. Nat. Paris, Lat.* 12161, saec. vii.

Te Deum has the form Neceta[1]. It is also preserved in all MSS. of the *Order of Baptism* in which are found fragments of the lost *Books of Instruction* as well as a quotation from the *De symbolo* (= Book V.[2]). An author who had knowledge of the lost *Books of Instruction* is obviously much more likely to know the correct form of the name than a copyist who at random identified an unknown Niceta with Nicetas of Aquileia. Lastly, I may quote the earliest MS. of the *De uigiliis* and *De bono psalmodiae*, *Cod. Vatic. Palat.* 210, saec. vii.[3]

The early part of Niceta's life is still a blank. The only fixed dates in his history are the visits to Paulinus of Nola in the years 398 and 402, and the mention of his name in letters of Pope Innocent in 409 and 414. But in 398 Paulinus[4] wrote of him in terms which imply that Niceta was considerably older than himself. He calls him 'holy Father,' 'Father and Teacher,' etc. Zahn[5] contrasts the tone in which the presbyter Jerome corresponds with the younger bishop Augustine. Since the age of Paulinus in 398 was about 45 we may suppose that Niceta was as much as 60, or in other words was born c. 338 or earlier. If we reckon from 335—414 this would make him something over 80 when he died, as we presume, shortly after the date of Innocent's second letter. Speaking generally the period of his life coincided with that of Jerome 346—420, but there is no difficulty in supposing him to have been 10 years older.

Gennadius in his *Lives of Famous Men*, following a

[1] p. ci.

[2] *Codd. Lat. Monacensis*, 6324, 6325, saec. ix. x. p. 155 *infra*.

[3] Cp. Zahn, *N. kirchl. Zeitschr.* VII. 1896, p. 94.

[4] *Carm.* xxvii. 180, 233, 243, 269, 324, 345—355.

[5] *Art. cit.* p. 102.

chronological order, puts him between Seuerianus, Bishop of Gabala († c. 408), and Olympius, Bishop of Barcelona or Toledo, who was present at a Council of Toledo in 400. Dom Morin[1] notes that Gennadius writing c. 480 does not employ any of the formulas in which he referred to contemporary writers, *Viuit usque hodie* or *Viuere adhuc dicitur*. This makes it impossible to suppose that Gennadius referred to Nicetas of Aquileia who was still living († c. 485). But Dom Morin does not go further than suggesting that Niceta may have been a Bishop before 392[2].

The testimony of Gennadius is so important that I must quote it in full here. Having overcome the initial difficulty of discovering the true forms of the names Niceta and Remesiana, we ought in fairness to express our gratitude to Gennadius, who cannot be held responsible for the mistakes of copyists, and whose notice, meagre though it seem, is of average length according to the scale adopted by Jerome, whose task he completed.

c. 22. Niceta, Bishop of the city of Remesiana, composed in simple and graceful language six books of Instruction for Candidates for Baptism. The first of these contains: 'How candidates who desire to obtain grace of Baptism ought to act'; the second 'On the errors of the Gentiles,' in which he relates that not far from his own time a certain Melodius, father of a family, on account of his liberality, and Gadarius a peasant, on account of his bravery, were placed by the heathen among the gods; a third book 'On faith in one majesty'; a fourth 'Against the casting of horoscopes' (*genethliologia*); a fifth 'On the Creed'; a sixth 'On the sacrifice of the paschal lamb.' He addressed a work also *To the Fallen Virgin*, encouraging to amendment all who have fallen[3].

[1] *Art. cit.* p. 69.

[2] Tillemont, *H.E.* x. 622; Bardenhewer, *Art.* Nicetas in *Kirchenlexikon*.

[3] The Latin text, p. 137.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the precise statement 'of the city of Remesiana' exactly expresses what Paulinus suggests in one of his poems, 'to Niceta returning to Dacia':

> Ibis et Scupos patriae propinquos
> Dardanus hospes.

Scupi, in Dardania, was the last important town through which he would pass on his way home. If Dacia was his *patria* he was probably born and educated there. The suggestion that he was at all events educated, if not born, in Gaul is possible but not probable. It depends upon the assumption that the form of Creed in his sermon *On the Creed* is Gallican. I shall endeavour (p. lxxviii.) to show that this is not probable. If he had been trained in the same school as Paulinus it is strange that Paulinus gives us no hint of it, nor in any of Niceta's extant writings can I find any proof[1].

Gennadius writes of Niceta as at the height of his influence c. 400, but for the first possible mention of his name we can go back some 33 years.

Among the documents preserved for us by Hilary of Poitiers (*Frag.* xv.) is a letter which Germinius, Bishop of Sirmium, sent to certain Bishops about the year 366 or 367 when he broke away from his old allies, the Arian leaders, Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursia. It is addressed as follows: "Dominis fratribus religiosissimis Rufiano, Palladio, Seuerino, Nichae, Heliodoro, Romulo, Muciano, et Stercorio Germinius in Domino S."

Kattenbusch[2] was the first to suggest that Nichae might be a corruption of Nicetae. Indeed reference to the specimens of writing given by Maunde Thompson[3]

[1] *Carm.* xvii. 195.
[2] *Theol. Litz.* 1896, p. 303.
[3] *Manual of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 216.

from Dacian wax tablets show that it would be easy to mistake *et* for *h*. But the possibility of the identification depends partly on the identification of the other Bishops named.

Rufianus may be the Rufinianus to whom S. Athanasius wrote soon after 362[1]. A fragment of a letter from him shows that his correspondence with Athanasius concerned the Christological teaching of the Council of 362 held at Alexandria. Athanasius refers to synods held in Greece, Spain, and Gaul. This suggests that his correspondent's sympathies were with the West rather than the East. He specially condemns Eudoxius, who was in 364 Bishop of Constantinople. Was this Rufianus a predecessor of Acholius in the see of Thessalonica?

Palladius may be the Bishop of Ratiaria (near Widdin) on the Danube, who was condemned at the Council of Aquileia in 381.

Seuerinus may be the Seuerus mentioned in a letter of Ambrose[2] to eleven Bishops of Eastern Illyricum and to the clergy and people of the Church of Thessalonica in 383[3].

Heliodorus is probably the Bishop who was translated from Moesia to Nicopolis in Thrace[4]. Another Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum in Italy, a friend of S. Jerome, was present at the Council of Aquileia, but

[1] *Ep.* lv.; Robertson's *Athanasius*, p. 566, n. 1. The Coptic documents call him Rufinus the archbishop, from which we may gather that his see was at some distance from Alexandria, and not Egyptian. But we cannot rely on their authority.

[2] *Ep.* 15.

[3] He is less likely to have been the Seuerianus quoted by Gennadius *De uir. ill.* c. 21.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* VII. 31 = Eliodorus e Nicopole mentioned by Hilary, *Frag.* 2.

we expect Germinius to appeal rather to a Moesian, or a Thracian, than an Italian.

Romulus is not to be found. Mucianus may be a mistake for Marcianus, who was Bishop of Naissus in 409, but in this case Bonosus was not Bishop of Naissus 391 (p. li. *infra*).

A Stercorius, Bishop of Canusium, was present at the Council of Sardica in 347, but it is improbable that he is the prelate referred to here some thirty years later.

All such guesses are uncertain, but if only one or two of these names could be identified it would establish a possibility that we might find Niceta in the company of those Bishops to whom Germinius turned when he desired to draw nearer to Catholicism.

Moreover there is a distinct literary connexion between the letter of Germinius and Niceta's treatise *De diuersis appellationibus*, which seems to have escaped notice. On this ground I feel justified in beginning the record of ecclesiastical affairs with which Niceta had to do from this point, remembering that this suggestion of Kattenbusch's is as yet unverified.

The year 367 marked the last stage in the Arian controversy. Germinius had been closely allied with Arian leaders at the height of their power. He was translated by Constantius from Cyzicus to Sirmium, on the high road from Aquileia, which passed through Naissus to Constantinople. Shortly after his translation appeared the famous Sirmian manifesto, which avowed the Anomoean doctrine that the Son is unlike the Father. This in Dr Gwatkin's words was "the turning-point of the whole contest[1]." It led to the alliance of eastern conservatives with the Nicene leaders.

[1] *Studies of Arianism*[2], p. 162.

Germinius took part in the Council of Sirmium in 358 at which Liberius completed his lapse, and which arranged for his return to Rome[1]. He was also present at the convention of Acacian and Semiarian leaders, when Mark of Arethusa drew up the famous Dated Creed (4th of Sirmium) on May 22, 359. This Creed was conservative in its appeal to Scripture, in its reverence for our Lord's Person; it laid emphasis on the mystery of the eternal Generation; it confessed that the Son is *ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα*[2].

The Semiarians made a mistake in allying themselves with the Homoeans. They were soon betrayed. Confession of 'Likeness in all points' would bring an honest mind near to confession of 'Likeness in substance,' which was the stepping-stone to the Nicene term 'Of one substance.' But not only did Valens, Bishop of Mursa, try to omit the words *κατὰ πάντα* from his subscription; with Ursacius of Singidunum he before long denied that they had ever stood in the original document. It was the revelation of this duplicity[3] which roused Germinius to make his protest in the letter under consideration. He sent to Rufianus and the other Bishops a profession of faith in which he asserted the 'Likeness in all points' and accumulated Scriptural proofs. Then he answered

[1] Sozomen, *H. E.* IV. 15.

[2] Vide *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 92.

[3] Some think that a deputation which was sent by the Semiarians to Liberius in 365 met Germinius on their way and brought him over to their side. But it seems more probable that it was in consequence of an Arian conference held at Singidunum that he revolted. Valens and Ursacius failed to recall him to his allegiance. It is to the credit of Germinius that he broke away from the Homoean party just when their leader Eudoxius, of Constantinople, was most influential at Court, having got the ear of the Emperor Valens, who had been associated with his brother Valentinian as Augustus. This fits in with what Athanasius says about Eudoxius, possibly (as we saw) to the same Rufianus to whom Germinius wrote.

the arguments from Scriptural titles such as 'the Way,' 'the Door,' by which the Arians sought to prove that Christ was a creature. Lastly, he gave an account of the discussions which preceded the issue of the Dated Creed and flatly accused Valens and Ursacius of lying when they denied that the words 'like in all points' had stood in it.

We do not know the sequel, whether Germinius was led on to accept the full Nicene teaching or not. But his argument with reference to the Lord's Scriptural titles suggests an occasion on which Niceta may have written the treatise on this subject which has been preserved under his name.

The De diuersis appellationibus.

At present only two MSS. of this treatise are known. They are both in the Vatican Library.

A = *Cod. Vatic. Lat.* 314. Saec. xv., 36 × 25 cm. I owe to the Rev. H. M. Bannister the following description: "The MS. was written in Italy, and probably (to judge by the illuminations) by a scribe of Urbino in the middle of the 15th century: on fol. 197^v at the end of one of the divisions of the MS. I found 'explicit die xii Decembris (*sic*) m cccc° xxx° viiii°,' but the whole is by one hand. It has been in the Vatican since the middle of the 16th century. The contents as given on fol. 1 are—The book of Didymus of Alexandria on the Holy Spirit in Jerome's translation, and works of S. Ambrose on the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Holy Spirit, the Sacraments, six sermons, and one book 'On Mysteries.' The last three chapters however of the third book on the Holy Spirit are missing, and in their place are inserted three books of Paschasius on the Holy Spirit, (f. 169) Niceta's

If Niceta had been active in opposition to the Arians in his own neighbourhood this would account for the letter to the Illyrian bishops. Perhaps some future discovery will throw light on the question.

While the great confusion of creeds lasted on, to which this letter of the council of 371 points, Niceta was actively engaged on his mission to the Bessi. A letter of S. Jerome to Heliodorus, written c. 396, speaks of the progress which had been made, that the Bessi were giving up their inhuman customs to make heard the sweet songs of the Cross[1]. Twenty-five years would not be too long to allow for such arduous labours.

For this quarter of a century it is only possible to sketch in bare outline the course of events. An Illyrian Council in 375, which declared that the Trinity was of one substance, had obtained from Valentinian an Imperial decree in its favour. But the rule of Valens still encouraged the Arians to hope for the future till his death in the battle of Hadrianople in 378. This was a crushing blow to the Empire. The Goths, who had already devastated the whole district of Thrace and Dacia, could not be dislodged, and were allowed to settle where they would in Dacia.

In 379 Gratian entrusted to Theodosius the Empire of the East, and handed over to him the Illyrian dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia. The following year, while he lay sick at Thessalonica, Theodosius was baptized by Ascholius of Thessalonica, and soon published a law 'commanding all men to follow the Nicene doctrine.' A further edict gave up the Churches to the Nicenes, and in May 381 the Second General Council was summoned to meet at Constantinople.

We have no definite information how these events

[1] *Ep.* 60, n. 4.

affected Niceta, but it is important for the understanding of his writings that they should be borne in mind.

This is a convenient point at which to raise the question whether Niceta could be identified with the Nicesius who was present at the Synod of Nîmes in 394. Information was brought to the Gallican Bishops who met in that synod, under the leadership of the Bishop of Vienne (?), that Manichaean heretics from the East with forged letters of commendation had passed themselves off as Catholic Priests and Deacons, and procured Church communion: "sanctorum communione speciem simulatae religionis [sibi] imprimunt." This is the first dated occurrence of the phrase 'Communion of Saints' which we find after this in Gallican Creeds as in the Creed of Niceta. Since the Gallican Bishops must have had some communication with Eastern Bishops before they found out the forgeries, I at one time thought that Niceta might have found his way to Gaul. But the name occurs in the list without note as of a Bishop of the district, and is probably to be referred to Nicetius, who at that time was Bishop of Vienne (?). There was no lack of intercourse between Gaul and the East[1]. It is certainly open to anyone to suggest that Niceta obtained his education in Gaul. The inclusion of the words *communion of saints* in his Creed deserves careful attention in comparison with South Gallican Creeds of the 5th century. But I have come to the conclusion that the indebtedness was on the side of the latter, and there is no other evidence that Niceta ever found his way to Gaul[2].

[1] Martin of Tours came from Pannonia, and probably kept up some communication with his old home. Victricius of Rouen, in his treatise *On the Praise of the Saints*, c. 400, mentions Naissus with Constantinople, Antioch, Thessalonica, and Rome.

[2] See p. lxxviii.

In passing it may be noted that I long ago gave up the idea which I suggested to Dr Kattenbusch in a letter[1] that Niceta might possibly be the pseudonym of Hilary of Arles. At that time I assumed that the Creed of Niceta must be Gallican, as Dr Kattenbusch does still, and he has been led on to argue with some force that we may have to distinguish between two Nicetas. The Dacian Niceta was undoubtedly the friend of Paulinus and the author of the *Te Deum*, the *De uigiliis*, and the *De psalmodiae bono*. Did Gennadius make a mistake and confuse him with a Gallican Niceta who wrote the Instructions for Catechumens? It is certainly true that Gennadius speaks only of dogmatic works, Paulinus only of liturgical. But when this has been said there is no more to be said. When Paulinus speaks of the reputation which Niceta won in Rome for learning, he refers obviously to theology. The argument *e silentio* is notoriously a dangerous one. Against the silence of Gennadius respecting the liturgical works of Niceta we must set the parallels to phrases of the *Te Deum* which have been found in his dogmatic treatises. They are not so close as we could wish, but they are there. And in this connexion it is of some importance to note a series of quotations from the *De symbolo* as well as the *De uigiliis* and *De psalmodiae bono* in the *De officiis* of Isidore of Seville[2]. The quotations are anonymous, but the series tends to prove that they quoted from one author.

To support his theory Dr Kattenbusch[3] has collected evidence of the existence of gold-mines in Gaul. According to Strabo there were mines in the Cevennes, and especially in Aquitania. Strabo[4] also speaks of the

[1] Quoted by him, II. p. 442, n. 21.
[2] II. p. 23; I. p. 22; II. p. 8.
[3] I. p. 405.
[4] *Ed.* Casaubonus, III. p. 146.

gold-washers among the Salassi in the valley of the Dora Baltea, near Aosta[1]. This is not within the boundary of Transalpine Gaul, according to the ideas of the later Imperial period not in Gaul at all, but deserves mention.

The reference of Paulinus to gold-washing as the occupation of some of Niceta's converts is therefore indecisive. It would apply as well in Gaul as in Dacia. But the fact that there were gold-mines near Remesiana, whereas we have no evidence that the see of the supposed Gallican Niceta was in the neighbourhood of any gold-mines, must be allowed to have due weight.

§ 4. NICETA'S VISITS TO ITALY AND HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH PAULINUS OF NOLA.

The reasons which led Niceta to pay the historic visits to Paulinus of Nola in 398 and 402 can only be guessed. Their dates are fixed by a reference in Paulinus *Carm.* 24, v. 333:

> Venisti tandem, *quarto* mihi redditus anno.

This poem was written for the 9th festival which Paulinus kept in honour of S. Felix, that is for the year 402, which proves that the first visit was in 398[2].

Probably his friendship with Paulinus was not the sole cause of these visits. Paulinus wrote to Sulpicius Severus that Niceta had come to him on the first occasion from Rome, where his learning had made a great impression. I assume that this was his first visit to Rome, for I am unwilling to found an argument on the suggestion that he attended the Synod of 371, and infer that he came again to report on the movements of the

[1] Cf. IV. pp. 187 and 190.

[2] Buse, *Paulin.* I. p. 367.

Goths, and the progress of the Arian heresy which threatened to triumph in their success[1].

Soon after the death of Theodosius in 395, unsettled by the partition of the Empire between his young sons, the Goths had begun to move westwards from their settlements in Dacia and Moesia. Their chieftain Alaric, with a horde of warriors, overran the Balkan peninsula in the following year, but was bribed by Stilicho to make peace. Thus dark war-clouds brooded over Dacia.

It is possible that Niceta had business to transact in Rome in connexion with the disturbed condition of Church politics in Eastern Illyricum, which by the division of the Empire in 379 had been given to the Eastern Empire. This upset the theory of ecclesiastical organisation which connected the Illyrian Church with Rome. At the Council of Sardica in 343 an appellate jurisdiction, though of a limited kind, had been conferred on the Bishop of Rome. The policy was popular among the Illyrian Bishops, especially those of Dacia and Dardania, who were bound to Rome by the tie of language and the common interest of colonies with their mother country. Gaudentius, Bishop of Naissus, was present at Sardica and proposed one of the canons.

The patriarch of Constantinople now sought to draw them under his jurisdiction. To counteract his influence Damasus gave vicarial powers to Ascholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, making him Metropolitan over the whole of Eastern Illyricum. The evidence goes to prove that there had been no Metropolitan or Primates in Eastern Illyricum before this date.

[1] *Ep.* xxix.: uenerabili episcopo atque doctissimo Nicetae, qui ex Dacia Romanis merito admirandus aduenerat. I have quoted the whole passage among *Testimonia*, p. 141.

In 384, Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus, wrote to Anysius, who had succeeded Ascholius, to complain that unworthy persons had been consecrated Bishops in Eastern Illyricum without his consent or the consent of Anysius. The close relations between the see of Thessalonica and the see of Rome were not allowed to drop. S. Ambrose in a letter[1] to Anysius writes of Ascholius as a great traveller, mentioning visits both to Constantinople and Italy. May we conjecture that Niceta carried on the work which Ascholius had begun? His missionary labours would be hampered by the prevailing unrest, and his diocese, on the high-road to Constantinople, would be at once affected by any new movement in the ecclesiastical affairs of Eastern Illyricum. Thus he would have a strong inducement to go and confer with the Bishop of Rome on the general condition of the Church.

It is possible that we should bring into the question the obscure personality of Bonosus, Bishop of Sardica, or (as some think) of Naissus, whose diocese in either case bordered on that of Niceta. Accusations were made against him at the Synod of Capua in 391, but the case was referred to Anysius as Metropolitan. From the letter of Siricius, quoted above, we gather that Anysius was unwilling to judge the case and that the Pope's authority was required to make him do so. Bonosus was then condemned and deposed. He appealed to S. Ambrose, who counselled him to submit, but he would not, and founded a schism which lasted on for three centuries.

There is the more reason for recording these facts, as troubles which affected Church life in Dacia at this

[1] *Ep.* xxi.: Ita enim percurrebat omnia ex cursu frequenti, Constantinopolim, Achaiam, Epirum, Italiam, ut iuniores eum non possent consequi.

time, because the last mention of Niceta in contemporary history is in a letter of Pope Innocent, *c.* 414, which deals with this very matter. We shall refer to it again[1].

The Bonosians were usually charged with Photinianism[2]. But Niceta speaks of that heresy as almost extinct[3] and does not mention the Bonosians among *pseudo-ecclesiae*[4].

The suggestion that Niceta had business to transact with the Bishop of Rome, which had reference to Church discipline in neighbouring dioceses, also explains what has always seemed to me a difficulty. Paulinus traces his route homewards in 398 from some port of Epirus to Thessalonica by sea, then by the high road up the Axios valley to Stobi and Scupi and so by the cross-road to Naissus and Remesiana. It is clearly shown in Mr Evans' map (p. xviii).

ibis Arctoos procul usque Dacos,
ibis Epiro gemina uidendus,
et per Aegeos penetrabis aestus
Thessalonicen....
tu Philippaeos[5] Macetum per agros,
tu Stobitanam[6] gradieris urbem,
ibis et Scupos patriae propinquos
Dardanus hospes.

Why should he have chosen this route in preference to the more direct road from the port of Salonae to

[1] p. liv. *infra*.

[2] Gennadius, *De eccl. dogm.* c. 52: "Photiniani qui nunc uocantur Bonosiaci." Mercator calls Bonosus an Ebionite and precursor of Nestorius, *Diss.* i. *de haeres. Nestor.* § 6, II. 315.

[3] *De rat. fidei*, 2.

[4] *De symbolo*, 10.

[5] Mr A. J. Evans suggests that Philippaeos is an *epitheton ornans* for Macedonia in general.

[6] Adopting Pagi's emendation, for 'Tomitanam.'

Naissus? That road in the disturbed state of the province may have been unsafe, but it seems more probable that he went to report the result of his journey, or mission (?), to his Metropolitan at Thessalonica, and his neighbours the Bishops of Stobi, Scupi and Naissus.

In this letter of Siricius to Anysius (*c.* 386) there is no trace of any Metropolitans in Illyricum, but in 412 when Pope Innocent gave vicarial powers to Rufus of Thessalonica the different provinces of Eastern Illyricum had each their Metropolitan, and Rufus was made Primate over them. It seems clear that Scupi became a metropolitical see between 386 and 412. Had Niceta's visit to the Pope, followed by visits to the Bishops of Thessalonica and Scupi, anything to do with this change also?

There is proof that Remesiana belonged, at any rate in 449, to the province of Dacia Mediterranea. Diogenianus, Bishop of Remesiana, took part in the Latrocinium of Ephesus, and his name occurs three times in the Acts of the *Actio prima* of that Synod[1]. Thus his name occurs among the subscriptions of the Bishops who condemned and deposed S. Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum. His subscription runs thus:—Diogenianus episcopus Remessianensis Daciae Mediterraneae definiens subscripsi[2].

There is no reason to suppose that the boundaries of the Dacian provinces were altered between 414 and 449,

[1] I owe this reference and much other information to Rev. F. W. Puller, who has made a special study of these questions. The Acts have been preserved in the Chalcedonian Acts. Labbe and Cossart's *Concilia*, ed. Coleti, Venet. 1728, IV. col. 1186.

[2] The other references to Diogenianus occur on coll. 891 and 1118 of the same volume. In the second of these passages the Greek text runs thus: Διογενιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Ἀφρουπόλεως Ῥεμεσσιάνων. Why should Remesiana be called Ἀφρούπολις of the Remessiani?

so we may therefore conclude provisionally that Niceta belonged in the latter part of his life to the province of Sardica. There is positive proof that in 431 the Bishop of Sardica was a Metropolitan. The Sardican Bishop of that date was Julian; and during the sessions of the Council of Ephesus he adhered to the opposition council of the Orientals under John of Antioch. In the 8th chapter of the *Synodicon aduersus Tragoediam Irenaei* there is a letter to Theodosius written from Ephesus by Nestorius and those who were with him. It is subscribed by a number of Metropolitans. Among the subscriptions is the following: "Julianus episcopus Sardicensis metropolitanus subscripsi[1]."

The letters of Pope Innocent I., to which reference has been made, mention Niceta first as a neighbour of the Bishop of Naissus, and secondly as a suffragan of the Bishop of Thessalonica. The first[2] was written from Ravenna soon after Innocent had begun to reside there, i.e. *c.* 404, to Martianus, Bishop of Naissus. It deals with the complaints of a priest Germanio and a deacon Lupentinus, who stated to Innocent that they had been ordained by Bonosus before his condemnation. Martianus would not recognise them, though he permitted them to retain their Churches. Innocent was of opinion that he should acknowledge their orders, especially since they claimed as witnesses of their ordination the late Bishop of Sirmium, Cornelius, and (in Innocent's words) "our brother Niceta."

The second letter[3] is addressed to the Bishops of

[1] Coleti, *op. cit.* IV. 266, cf. p. 271. [2] *Ep.* xxi.

[3] *Ep.*. xxii.: "Innocentius Rufo, Eusebio, Eustathio, Claudio, Maximiano, Eugenio, Gerontio, Ioanni, Polychronio, Sophronio, Flauiano, Hilario, Macedonio, Calicrati, Zosimo, Profuto, Nicetae, Hermogeni, Vincentio, Asiologo, Terentiano, Herodiano, et Martiano, et ceteris episcopis Macedonibus, et diaconibus, in Domino salutem."

Macedonia, headed by Rufus of Thessalonica. The term Macedonia seems to be used in a wide sense to include the whole ecclesiastical province under Thessalonica, or perhaps the whole of Eastern Illyricum which was under the primacy of Thessalonica. Niceta's name appears between two Bishops whose sees are unknown, Profutus and Hermogenes, but Martianus of Naissus is also mentioned. The Pope, writing in 414 after the sack of Rome, begins with an expression of thankfulness that the Archdeacon Vitalis, who had brought the letters to which this is an answer, had arrived safely, while so much strife prevailed in the world. The questions on which he had been consulted were of different kinds and he was both surprised and displeased that some of them should have been raised again. He was asked whether men who had married widows, and men who had married one wife before and another after baptism, might be ordained. He decided in the negative. Then he dealt with the case of priests ordained by Bonosus who had been reconciled by the laying on of the hand of an orthodox Bishop. They pleaded that Anysius, the former Metropolitan of Thessalonica, had permitted them to officiate, and that the Canons of Nicaea allowed it in the case of the Novatians.

We must note that their case distinctly differed from that of Germanio and Lupentinus, who had been ordained when Bonosus was orthodox.

Innocent laid down the law that ordinations by heretics are invalid. He held that Anysius in his action was constrained by necessity, that the Nicene Canons applied to Novatians only. He suggested that the men ordained by Bonosus at the end of his life, when he was isolated, took the risk of finding themselves suspected of seeking ordination from him because their characters

would not bear investigation by other Bishops. No one believed the story that any of them had been ordained by force. Finally he dealt with the case of a Bishop, Photinus, who had been condemned by the Roman Bishop acting on incorrect information. With some hesitation he permitted his acquittal and reinstatement. He refused also to depose a deacon Eustathius.

These letters are of great interest as throwing light on the general condition of ecclesiastical affairs, showing us how the general current of Church life moved on in Dacia despite the violent upheaval of political organisation. The rulers of the Church were zealous amidst all their anxieties to supply to their flocks 'faithful and true pastors.' But it is tantalising to find no fresh light on the personality of Niceta. For that we must turn to the poems of Paulinus.

A man is known by his friends. We feel at once that we can learn a great deal about Niceta through these poems of Paulinus, even though we discount the inflated style of panegyric. Paulinus was one of the most cultured men of the age, and the favourite pupil of Ausonius, its most famous teacher. With his wife, Therasia, he had sacrificed wealth and position in order to live a retired, religious life, watching over the community which had gathered round them in Nola, building a great Church in honour of S. Felix, and teaching the pilgrims who flocked to visit the shrine of the saint. Through him we find Niceta in touch with all that was noble in the literature of the West. Paulinus writes of him in a charming way to the historian Sulpicius Severus[1], describing how he had had a visit from Niceta in January, and shortly afterwards from Melania, the great traveller and Lady Bountiful of the period. He

[1] *Ep.* xxix. 14, quoted p. 141.

had introduced them both to the life of S. Martin of Tours which Sulpicius Severus had lately written, and delighted in hearing the praises of his friend. Paulinus was a true scholar and his admiration of Niceta's learning was based on a high standard. It was no slight test of literary capacity that a missionary Bishop from distant Dacia should be admitted on equal terms to the society of this friend of Ambrose and Augustine. Their friendship, however, was based on something more than affinity of cultured tastes. They enjoyed that 'Communion of Saints' of which Niceta wrote glowing words in his Sermon on the Creed. Paulinus' farewell to Niceta reminds us of a passage in one of his letters to Victricius[1] which describes in eloquent words the bond which united them: "Nam etsi regionum interuallis corporaliter disparemur, Spiritu tamen Domini, in quo uiuimus et manemus, ubique effuso coniuncti sumus, ut unius corporis membra et cor unum et unam animam habentes in uno Deo."

To gain the friendship of such a man was worthy of the author of the *Te Deum*, and we feel that his expectation was not misplaced when he wrote of the pleasure which he had derived from Niceta's gifts as a hymn-writer. Very beautiful is his description of the ship's crew taught to sing hymns.

> nauitae laeti solitum celeuma
> concinnent uersis modulis in hymnos
> et piis ducent comites in aequor
>   uocibus auras.
> praecinet cunctis tuba ceu resultans
> lingua Nicetae modulata Christum,
> psallet aeternus citharista toto
>   aequore Dauid.

[1] *Ep.* xviii.

audient *Amen* tremefacta cete
et sacerdotem Domino canentem
laeta lasciuo procul admeabunt
monstra natatu[1].

This is a specimen of a poem which at some points reaches a very high level of beauty, and should be read in its entirety (p. 142 *infra*), especially the description of Niceta's work in that 'dumb region of the world' where he teaches barbarian lips in Roman tongue to re-echo Christ.

The interest of the other poem[2], an Ode for the Birthday of S. Felix, in which he anticipates the return of Niceta in 402, is comparatively small. It deals with a worn out theme, and exhibits the toying with words and pretty phrases which was characteristic of the school of Ausonius. We may select the following as sufficiently characteristic of its style.

quamuis Felicis meritum sublime profari
non possim sine laude Dei, tu, sancte, paterno
suscipe me, Niceta, sinu, et dum pectore docto
sustineor caput in blando mihi corde reclinans,
sal tuus insulsum me condiat et sitientes
diues uena riget riuo mihi perpete sensus.
dicam iterum gaudens et adhuc uix muneris huius
credulus ingeminabo rogans: dic, quaeso, redisti
teque ipsum teneo Nicetam, in quo hactenus aeger
noctes atque dies anima tabente pependi[3]?

He goes on to speak of his fear lest the perils of war, or of the long fatiguing journey, or the fear of the Goths or the cold should keep Niceta back from the journey.

fortis et infirmus pariter, sed utrumque potenter,
uictus amicitia, uictus Felicis amore,
uicisti duros tenera pietate labores[4].

[1] *Carm.* xvii. 109–120.
Ib. 323–332.
[2] *Carm.* xxvii.
[4] *Ib.* 343 ff.

This gloomy picture of the state of Dacia is confirmed by a letter which S. Jerome[1] wrote some two years later to Heliodorus, in which he describes the desolation wrought in the unhappy Danube lands, where nothing was to be seen but earth, and sky, and thick, barren wood, in which even birds and wild beasts were rare.

Here the story of this friendship ends, as abruptly as it begins, but the little that we know is enough to show that it was bound up with important events in the life of Niceta, and played some part in the development of his character.

§ 5. THE *LIBELLI INSTRVCTIONIS.*

The six 'Books of Instruction' for candidates for Holy Baptism, which constitute Niceta's claim to be a doctor of the Church, are known to us only in part. We have four fragments of Book I. (in Migne, *P. L.* LII. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6), and one fragment of Book II. (No. 4). The latter fragment does not tell us anything about the errors of the Gentiles, which are the subject of Book II. according to Gennadius, but there is no reason to doubt the reference. The treatises on Faith and the Holy Spirit together make up Book III. Of Book IV. we have no trace. Book V. is preserved in the Sermon on the Creed, from which Fragment No. 7, found by Dom Morin, is a quotation, whereas Fragment No. 3 appears to be a quotation from another recension. Book VI. *On the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb* was regarded as lost until Dom Morin suggested that the Ps.-Athanasian treatise *de ratione Paschae* might be identified with it. [illegible] edited the treatise tentatively among *Opera*

[1] *Ep.* 30.

The fragmentary condition of our knowledge may be more clearly summarized in tabular form, quoting the titles given by Gennadius.

Gennadius de uir. illus. c. 22.	*Nicetae opera quae extant.*
BOOK	
I. How candidates who seek to obtain grace of Baptism ought to act.	Frag. 1, 2, 5, 6.
II. On the errors of the Gentiles.	Frag. 4.
III. On Faith [Gennadius adds 'of one majesty'].	De ratione fidei and de Spiritu sancto.
IV. Against the casting of Horoscopes.	
V. On the Creed.	De symbolo [Frag. 3, 7].
VI. On the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb.	[Ps.-Athanasius *de ratione paschae* ?]

I will describe the MSS. of the Fragments; the MSS. of Book III. *de fide*; the MSS. of Book V. *de symbolo*; I shall then be able to discuss the internal evidence of these treatises as to their date, their style and relationship to other treatises.

THE MSS. OF THE FRAGMENTS.

The Fragments of the lost Books are preserved in an ancient *Order of Catechising*[1], which is now known to exist in three recensions.

(*a*) *The Munich MSS.*

M[1] = *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 6325 (*Fris.* 125). *Saec.* ix.
M[2] = „ „ 6324 (*Fris.* 124). *Saec.* x.

These MSS. may be connected with the Cathedral at Freising. I have published the text in the *Zeitschrift*

[1] *Ordo de catechizandis rudibus uel quid sint singula quae geruntur in sacramento baptismatis.*

für Kirchengeschichte, XXV., p. 145, where I have suggested that in this form the Order may be the reply of Arno of Salzburg to the enquiry which was made by Charles the Great in 812. These MSS. contain only Fragments 1, 3, 4, but they contain a list of doctors of the Church in which Niceta's name appears between Hilarius and Hieronimus[1].

(*b*) *The Vienna MS.*

V = *Cod. Vindob.* 1370. *Saec.* x.

The second recension is the form which was found by Denis in the Imperial Library at Vienna, from which the Niceta fragments (Nos. 1—6) were published by Card. Mai. This form of the Order contains additional quotations from Albinus (= Alcuin), Athanasius, Leo, Augustine. It also contains a sermon on the Creed on the strength of which it has been identified with the lost answer of John of Arles to Charles the Great[2].

(*c*) *The Rouen MS.*

R = *Cod. Rotomag.* 469 A 214. *Saec.* xi., xii.

The third recension was found by Dom Morin[3] in a MS. at Rouen. It does not contain Fragment 2 and cuts short Fragment 4, but it enlarges Fragment 1 and has an extra quotation from Book V. *de symbolo* (Frag. 7), which establishes the identification of the Sermon on the Creed with the 5th Book quoted by Gennadius. This is more important because Fragment 3, found in all three recensions, does not belong to Book V. in the form in which it has come down to us. The reference may have been wrongly given. Indeed Dom Morin

[1] Vide p. 155 infra, *Testimonia*.

[2] Kattenbusch, I. 210, but he retracts this suggestion, II. p. 464, n. 46.

[3] *Rev. Bén.* 1897, p. 97.

warns us not to trust them on this account. But the editor of each recension had Niceta's works in his hands, and added special quotations, so that we cannot accuse them of working in the dark, and should rather trust them when they agree on such a point. We may suppose that the Book *de symbolo* was altered by the author for publication, like the *de fide*, and possibly like the *de uigiliis* and *de bono psalmodiae*. We may hope in the future to recover more of Niceta's writings, so there is no need to speculate too precisely as to the form in which they were first preached or published.

THE MSS. OF BOOK III.

Part i., de ratione fidei.

V = *Cod. Vatic.* 314. *Saec.* XV.

The title given in this MS. *allocutio sancti Nicetae* agrees with the testimony of Gennadius that this treatise was first preached to Catechumens, but it may have been preached again in Italy. It has been suggested that Gennadius invented the title *de fide unicae maiestatis*. Cassiodorus had simply *de fide* and later MSS. *de ratione fidei*. But in this, as in other cases, Gennadius expanded the title to give some idea of the main argument, and does so very correctly. The main object of the author was to persuade men to worship the Son and the Spirit as of one majesty with the Father. But it is possible that Gennadius may have had in his mind the terms of the decree of Theodosius, dated July 30, 381: "We command all the Churches to be delivered to those Bishops who confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be of one majesty and power, of the same glory, of one brightness."

There is a long quotation from this treatise in the *de*

Trinitate, lib. X., ascribed to Vigilius Tapsensis. I have quoted the variant readings in my *apparatus*.

Part ii., de Spiritu sancto.

C = *Cod. Coloniensis* xxxii. (*Darmstad.* 2029). *Saec.* ix.

In this MS., which was recently found by Dom Morin, the treatise has the title *sancti Iohannis episcopi de Spiritu sancto.* The MS. contains an interesting collection, the commentary of Rufinus on the Apostles' Creed, S. Ambrose *de fide*, lib. ii., Faustinus *de trinitate*, and this treatise followed by the letter of Damasus to Paulinus concerning the synod of 378.

V = *Cod. Vaticanus* 314. *Saec.* xv.

This MS., which has been described above (p. lxii.), has no title for this treatise and it would be interesting to know why Card. Mai gave it the title *de Spiritus sancti potentia.* That was the title in the lost MS. of Pomposa, but it was probably the invention of a copyist, like the title for the *de ratione fidei* in the Lorsch Catalogue *liber Nicetii de aequalitate Dei patris et Dei filii*, lib. I., where follows *et eiusdem de Spiritu sancto.*

Mai's explanation that *potentia* = *persona* is surely a mistaken one. He quotes Victorinus[1] as using *potentia* in this sense, but there is no evidence that Niceta so used it. Niceta did not shrink from using the word *persona*, and he uses *potentia* in its proper sense, 'power viewed as a subjective possession': *de Sp. s.* c. 18 *Trinitas unius operationis ac potentiae*, cf. *de rat. fidei*, c. 4 *Filii potentia.* Thus Damasus in his letter to Paulinus confesses *Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti unam diuinitatem, potestatem, maiestatem, potentiam*[2].

[1] *Comm. in ep. ad Gal.* iv. 6; *adv. Ar.* iii. 17.

[2] *Labbei et Cossartii Conc.* II. 901.

The treatise, which under the name of Nicetas of Aquileia attracted little attention, gains much greater interest when it is put back into the times of the Macedonian heresy. It not only illuminates an obscure period but shows the working of a gifted mind coming fresh to the consideration of a great problem. It should be compared with the treatises of S. Ambrose and S. Basil on the same subject. It follows the same lines as the work of S. Ambrose, using many of the same proof texts[1], and similar arguments, but is more concise and more closely argued.

The following is a brief summary of the argument. Niceta accuses the Macedonians of raising interminable questions: 'qualis est Spiritus sanctus? unde et quantus est? natus est? an factus est?' They are not content with the plain words of the Lord: 'Hic de Patre procedit.' They persist in misapplying the text (*Joh.* i. 3), "All things were made by Him," as if it included the Spirit. If, however, they admit that S. John was inspired by the Spirit to write the words the Spirit cannot be included among created beings. Other texts are quoted to prove that the Spirit is Lord, that He guides into all truth, sanctifies, absolves, regenerates. His attributes include foreknowledge, omnipresence, goodness. He who is confessed with the Father and the Son at Baptism, should be worshipped with them, not separately like heathen polytheists, but in the Unity of the Trinity.

S. Basil, on the other hand, writes on a much larger scale. He uses metaphysical arguments, and quotes treatises by former theologians, writing for a more

[1] S. Ambrose uses a similar argument about Jo. i. 3, Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6, the story of Ananias, Acts v. 3, etc., and reaches the same climax—sanctificat, arguit, adoratur—though there is no evidence of literary connexion.

cultivated circle of hearers than the catechumens of Remesiana.

THE MSS. OF BOOK V. *DE SYMBOLO.*

We have evidence of no less than three editions of this book. There is Fragment 5 in the *Order of Catechising* which probably represents the text known to Gennadius.

Secondly there are two MSS. of the complete sermon (*Cod. Chisianus* and *Brit. Mus. Royal* 7 c. ii.), which may represent the form in which Niceta edited it for some friend as he edited the *de fide.*

Thirdly there is a recension in some seven MSS., mostly of Austrian *provenance*, in which the sermon is ascribed to Origen. It contains a mutilated text, omitting the first sentences and ending abruptly with the words *in hac una* (sc. *confoederantur ecclesia*). A copyist has added a fragment of another sermon *Cum in principio* which is ascribed by Caspari[1] to the second half of the 8th century or later.

(1) The MSS. of the fragments have been described above, p. lx.

(2) The MSS. of the second recension are:

B = *British Museum Royal* 7 c. ii. *Saec.* xi. The MS. contains a mixed collection of theological works. It belonged formerly to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, where it had the pressmark R 40[2]. The conclusion of Niceta's sermon follows a sermon on the Creed which is possibly to be ascribed to Theodulf of Orleans: "Quando beatum legimus Paulum." The quotation begins (on f. 188 *b*) with the words "sanctus Augustinus dicit Pauca

[1] IV. 315. [2] M. R. James, *Abbey of S. Edmund Library*, p. 73.

quidem sunt uerba" = Niceta *ad fin.* It is followed by an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, which is largely taken from S. Augustine's Commentary on S. Matthew, and is followed again by the Sermon of Niceta under the heading: *Item expositio eiusdem symboli.* This continues to the words *Pauca sunt quidem uerba* quoted above on fol. 192*a* where the reference is given VT SVPRA IN QVINTO FOLIO. Fol. 188*b* is five pages back reckoning from f. 192*a*.

C = *Cod. Chisianus* A vi. 184. *Saec.* xiv.

This MS. has the heading: *Explanatio symboli beati Nicete aquileiensis episcopi habita ad competentes.*

(3) The MSS. of the Austrian recension are the following:

F = *Cod. sancti Floriani* 48. *Saec.* xi.
G = *Cod. Cotuicensis* 97. *Saec.* xii.
H = *Cod. sanctae Crucis* 122. *Saec.* xii.
K = *Cod. Cremifanensis* 313. *Saec.* xi. *ex.*
M = *Cod. Monacensis lat.* *Saec.* xv.
V = *Cod. Vindobonensis* 768. *Saec.* xii.

In this Austrian recension the Sermon precedes the homilies of Origen on the book of Leviticus in the translation of Rufinus. To the five MSS. found by Caspari I have been able to add two, which I found at Heiligenkreuz (H) and at Munich (M). The Munich MS. is the first which has been found out of Austria. It comes from the Monastery of Ebensberg not far from Munich. I have revised Caspari's collations of all the MSS. except one quoted as *Cod. Cotuicensis* 26. I suspect that this is a mistake for 96 as I found the companion MS. quoted by Caspari as 27 under the number 97. When I visited Göttweih the librarian was unfortunately

away, and I was not able to make a prolonged search. The readings however do not differ much from those of the other Göttweih MS., so I am content to quote Caspari's notes on the MS. in a note[1].

THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO DATE.

The internal evidence of these books is indefinite. Arianism is spoken of as a prevalent heresy, but it was passing into the penultimate stage[2]. The controversies, which had gathered round the names of Sabellius and Photinus, are regarded as extinct, having been condemned by all Churches. Niceta may have had in mind the condemnation of Photinus in Sirmium in 351, which would be well remembered in the district. In *de fide* c. 4 he applies to the thought of the Generation of the Son phrases which were used in the 13th anathema of the Council of 351. No one is to regard the Godhead of the Father or the Son as undergoing any passion or diminution. According to some authorities the error of

[1] I give the references to my text. P. 40, l. 10, *ne* steht über *omnium* als Correctur. Der Corrector hat also *omne* statt *omnium* gelesen wissen wollen;
re
om omne 2°. P. 43, l. 5, susurra; l. 12, ne] neç; l. 18, in quo fundamento passus Christus: zwischen *fundamento* und *passus* steht über der Zeile "und am Rande + posueris quod" und zwischen *passus* und *intelligas* über der Zeile est. Beides Correctur, wie es scheint, des Schreibers selbst. l. 19, Passus *pr* quod *corr.* P. 44, l. 13, fateris mit einer kleiner Schlangenlinie unter *er.* P. 46, l. 6, blasphemauerit. P. 47, l. 2, *fallaces* mit einem fast radirten aber noch erkennbaren *e*; l. 3, *iterum* ist ausradirt. Wo es stehen sollte findet sich ein leerer Raum; l. 5, nec natura permittit nec natura fert: Der C. Cotv. 1 hatte ursprünglich dasselbe; aber das zweite *natura* wurde dann ausradirt, so dass sich an dessen Stelle ein leerer Raum findet. P. 48, l. 2, catholicam *corr.*

[2] *De fide* c. 3: de hac heresi quae nunc fidei catholicae calumniatur pauca dicere postulastis.

Photinus was revived *c.* 390 by Bonosus, Bishop of Sardica or Nisch. That Niceta gives no hint of any revival of the heresy is a strong argument for the early date of the *de fide*. Niceta did not like Cyril shrink from using the term *homoousios*. He even extends the use of the term, applying it to the Holy Spirit as the Illyrian Council of 375 did. The dread of Sabellianism which so hampered orthodox leaders in the earlier part of the Arian controversy was passing away. The great heresy of the period was Macedonianism, which is ably refuted in the *de Spiritu*. It is regarded as a new heresy, but reference is made to a distinct party, *Macedoniani*, though the term needs explanation[1]. It is important to note that Niceta confutes them on their own ground by appeal to Scripture, not by reference to any synodical decree. At the same time his willingness to quote such decrees is proved by a reference to the Creed of the Council of Nicaea. In passing we may note that the form of the Nicene Creed quoted corresponds to the form classified by Mr Turner[2] as Gallican, with the exception of *unius* for *eiusdem* (*substantiae*) which is found in all other translations. Probably Niceta gave his own translation. Mr Turner quotes it as a separate form[3].

I am thus led to suggest for this treatise a date prior to the Councils held under Damasus in 374, 376, or the Council of Constantinople in 381. On the other hand silence about the Council of Constantinople, supposing that he wrote after 381, might easily be accounted for by the fact that he, like the majority of Illyrian bishops, had sympathy with the Western rather than the Eastern

[1] *De Sp. s.* c. 2: illi qui postmodum quaestionem de Spiritu induxerunt! ut, puta, Macedoniani uel eorum in hac curiositate participes.

[2] C. H. Turner, *Eccl. occ. monumenta iuris ant.* p. 174. [3] *Ib.* p. 306.

branch of the Church, and probably regretted the inclusion of Dacia in the Eastern Empire in 379.

The parallels to the 9th article of the so-called Constantinopolitan Creed do not prove quotation, though they show the same trend of thought towards clearer expression of doctrine on the Personality of the Holy Spirit.

Constantinopolitan Creed.	Niceta *de Spiritu sancto.*
τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον	c. 4. de Patre procedit
τὸ κύριον	*ib.* Spiritum sine dubio Dominum dixit
τὸ ζωοποιόν	c. 9. Viuificamur uero per Spiritum
τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν	c. 15. Noui autem prophetae quid clamant? sicut Agabus prophetans in Actis apostolorum ait: *Haec dicit Spiritus sanctus.*
τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον	c. 18. frustra prohibeor eum cum Patre et Filio uenerari quem confiteri cum Patre et Filio ipsa ueritate compellor.

We have to bear in mind that the Constantinopolitan Creed was the Old Creed of Jerusalem, revised after 360 by Cyril of Jerusalem, and that it is quite possible that these parallels are really reminiscences of phrases of the Creed from the *Catecheses* of Cyril which Niceta quotes elsewhere.

Another important consideration, which points to an early date, is the fact that the Apollinarian heresy is not mentioned. The Apollinarians began to form a sect about 375, and were condemned in set terms by a Council under Damasus in 376. The lack of any reference to them disposes me to assign to the *de fide* an early date, *c.* 370–375.

The evidence of Book v. *de symbolo* points in the

same direction. The heretics named are Manicheans, Montanists (Cataphrigae), Marcionists, but the opposition which Niceta appears to dread most for his flock is that of Jews and Gentiles. There is one direct reference to Arianism which includes a further reference to the 'tortuous questions' of Macedonians[1]. Such language conveys the impression that the treatise was written *c.* 375.

The style and relationship to other treatises.

The style of these treatises is simple but polished. It is admirably described by Gennadius in the words *simplici et nitido sermone.* Cassiodorus adds two other characteristics, "clearness and brevity[2]." We do not find the profound thoughts of Hilary or Athanasius. When we reflect how some of Hilary's sentences were misunderstood and misinterpreted by the heretic Priscillian[3] we feel that there are serious risks attached to all attempts to express in human words thoughts which cannot be fully so expressed[4]. Niceta's Instructions are a simpler exposition of Christian doctrine. They are a Western complement to the Catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, which Niceta quotes more than once. He was concerned with the same practical hindrances to faith, above all the constant pressure of

[1] c. 9: Si aeque hereticus sub nomine Christiano aut Christum tibi creaturam tradat, aut Spiritum sanctum alienum esse a Patris et Filii gloria persuadeat, sit tibi tanquam ethnicus, quia te ad idololatriam deducit, cum creaturam colere persuadet. Et cum te quaestionibus tortuosis nititur implicare....

[2] *De instit. diu. litt.* c. 16, quoted p. 155.

[3] Cf. Priscillian's *Benedictio super fideles*, where he gives a Sabellian turn to words from Hil. *de Trin.* I. 6.

[4] Hil. *de Trin.* II. 2.

heathenism enveloping, like a fog, the whole lives of his converts.

The chief quotation from Cyril's lectures is a passage on the incarnation.

Cyril *Catech.* iv. 9.

Πίστευε δέ, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατῆλθε... ἀναλαβὼν ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ δοκήσει καὶ φαντασίᾳ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως γενομένης, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ...εἰ γὰρ φάντασμα ἦν ἡ ἐνανθρώπησις, φάντασμα καὶ ἡ σωτηρία. Διπλοῦς ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ἄνθρωπος μὲν τὸ φαινόμενον, Θεὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον· ἐσθίων μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, ὡς ἡμεῖς... τρέφων δὲ ἐκ πέντε ἄρτων τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ὡς Θεός· ἀποθνήσκων μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, νεκρὸν δὲ τὸν τετραήμερον ἐγείρων ὡς Θεός· καθεύδων εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἀληθῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ὡς Θεός.

Niceta.

Hic propter nostram salutem descendit a Patre de caelis[1] et simile nobis corpus accepit, natum ex Spiritu et ex Maria uirgine. (*Chis.* et uirgine Maria.) ...Crede ergo hunc,...uere incarnatum, non putatiue, sicut quidam...in phantasmate dicunt factam incarnationem...Si falsa incarnatio est, falsa erit et salus hominum...In ipso utrumque existens, homo quod uidebatur, Deus quod non uidebatur. Manducans ut homo et pascens quinque milia hominum quinque panibus, quasi Deus....Dormiens ut homo in naui, sed uentis et mari imperans quasi Deus. [Manus cruci affigens uelut homo, sed paradisum confitenti se latroni tribuens quasi Deus.] Mortem postremo suscipiens... ut homo, sed quatriduanum mortuum de sepulchro suscitans quasi Deus.

Kattenbusch[2] suggests that the bracketed words [Manus...Deus] are a quotation from Gaudentius of Brescia, in whose Sermon xix. is the sentence: "quod

[1] Since Kattenbusch (I. 117) called attention to this reading of *Cod. Chisianus* it has found support in the British Museum MS.

[2] I. 118. Hümpel (p. 80) regarded this as an interpolation on the ground that the Austrian recension of the sermon omitted it. But this is not true of all the MSS.

pendens in cruce latroni confitenti paradisum donat." Gaudentius became Bishop of Brescia before 397 and was therefore a contemporary of Niceta. It seems to me exceptionally difficult in this case to prove that there was any literary dependence of one on the other. In the same sermon Gaudentius has the sentence: "Dormit ut homo, et exsurgens elementis imperat quasi Deus," which is an even closer parallel to the previous sentence of Niceta. Since Niceta is plainly quoting from Cyril, Gaudentius is either quoting from Niceta, or, as it seems to me is far more probable, both writers used the same Scriptural arguments independently because they were dealing with the same phase of Arianism. The context in each case is quite different[1]. Kattenbusch[2] himself allows that Niceta has many independent thoughts and does not simply copy out Cyril's *Catecheses*.

This is specially true of the following parallel:

Cyril *catech.* v. 12.	Niceta *de symbolo c.* 13.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ πάντες δύνανται τὰς γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἰδιωτεία, τοὺς δὲ ἀσχολία τις ἐμποδίζει πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ἀμαθίας ἀπολέσθαι ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς στίχοις τὸ πᾶν δόγμα τῆς πίστεως περιλαμβάνεται...ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς τὰ καιριώτατα συλλεχθέντα μίαν ἀναπληροῖ τὴν τῆς πίστεως διδασκαλίαν.	De totis enim scripturis haec sub breuitate collecta sunt, tanquam gemmae pretiosae in una corona compositae, ut, quoniam plures credentium literas nesciunt, uel, qui sciunt, per occupationes saeculi scripturas legere non possunt, haec corde retinentes, habeant sufficientem sibi scientiam salutarem.

[1] Hümpel (p. 77) further tries to prove the dependence of Gaudentius on Niceta because he used the same set of texts as Niceta in his *de fide*. But the contexts are different, and the use of the same texts in reply to the same set of Arian arguments proves nothing.

[2] II. 10.

Niceta's teaching on the creed as a covenant (*pactum*) is also parallel to Cyril's teaching (v. 12).

This is a suitable point at which to discuss the question of the dependence of Rufinus on Niceta, since Rufinus was without doubt dependent on Cyril.

Niceta *c.* 5.	Rufinus *c.* 18.
Sub Pontio ergo Pilato passus est. *Tempus designatur* quo Pontius Pilatus fuit praeses Syriae et Palestinae. Hoc autem ideo *caute* ponitur, quia aliquanti haereticorum daemoniacis fraudibus decepti diuersos garriunt Christos.	*Cautissime* autem qui symbolum tradiderunt etiam *tempus*, quo haec sub Pontio Pilato gesta sunt, *designarunt*, ne ex aliqua parte uelut uaga et incerta gestorum traditio uacillaret.

We have not here much on which to build an argument. In all such cases it is the cumulative argument which alone is convincing. There is no difficulty in supposing that Rufinus was acquainted with Niceta's writings, in particular because he went to Rome in 398 just after Niceta's visit[1].

The style of Niceta compares favourably with that of Rufinus. He writes with a sense of responsibility as a teacher face to face with his class. His style is never laboured and at times rises to a high level of eloquence as in the peroration to the *de symbolo*. He writes of heresies as expressing the current opinions of men to be met in the street, not in the academic style of Rufinus whose heretics appear to our imagination as shadowy forms like moths rising from a dusty book-shelf. Rufinus is indeed successful in his analysis of the form of the Aquileian Creed, but his pedantic explanations grow wearisome, and some of his illustrations are puerile. Through Niceta's words we are

[1] *D. C. B.* Art. 'Rufinus,' p. 559.

in touch with life, and this gives further interest to the form commented on.

In my *Introduction to the Creeds* (p. 255) I restored the form as follows, with the exception of the words *Dominum nostrum.*

Niceta.	*Arianus anonymus.*
I. 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *caeli et terrae creatorem* :	*Fr.* vii. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *creatorem caeli et terrae*?
II. 2. Et in Filium eius Iesum Christum (Dominum nostrum?)	*Credis* et in Christo Iesu filio eius?
3. natum ex Spiritu sancto et ex uirgine Maria	*Fr.* xv. de Maria natus est: de Maria uirgine
4. *passum* sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum, *mortuum.*	*Fr.* iv. qui pro nobis *passus* est...
5. Tertia die resurrexit *uiuus* a mortuis,	qui *resurrexit a mortuis*...
6. ascendit in caelos,	qui *ascendit* super caelos...
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris,	qui sedet in dextera Dei...
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.	qui iudicaturus est.
III. 9. Et in Spiritum sanctum,	
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam, communionem sanctorum,*	*Fr.* viii. nos *ecclesia* Dei *sancta*
11. remissionem peccatorum,	*ib.* remissio peccatorum.
12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam.*	

[The variants in the reconstructions made by Caspari (C), Hümpel (H^1), Hahn^3 (H^3) and Kattenbusch (K) are as follows]

1 *om* caeli et terrae creatorem CH^1H^3 2 *om* Dominum nostrum CH^3 3 natum...uirgine *in expos.* C 4 > sub Pontio Pilato passus est (passum H^3) CH^3 || mortuum *pr* et H^3, mortuus *in expos.* C, + et sepultum K 7 Patris *pr* Dei H^3 10 sanctae ecclesiae catholicae C 11 remissionem *pr* in H^3 12 carnis *pr* huius H^3 || uitam *pr* in H^3

Side by side with the Creed of Niceta I have set the creed form to be extracted from some anonymous Arian sermons first published by Mai[1], and in part recently by Mercati[2]. They are found in *cod. Vat. lat.* 5750 *saec.* iv., which is a palimpsest, and are of the highest value as specimens of Arian teaching. They are not less interesting as pointing to the form of Creed used in the Danube lands to which their author probably belonged. Though only the first clause is quoted *in extenso* there are several other quotations of Creed phrases. I agree with Kattenbusch that the form used was the Old Roman with some slight variations.

The most important point of agreement between these two forms is in the addition of *creatorem caeli et terrae.* The British Museum MS. of the *de symbolo* which I found after the publication of my *Introduction to the Creeds* has confirmed my opinion on this point, since it distinctly quotes the clause as part of the Creed form commented on as well as in the exposition. Niceta follows them with an emphatic *Hunc confitere Deum* just as he wrote after the first words of Art. 1, *Bene incipit a credulitate confessio,* and again uses *confiteberis* in connexion with Art. 2. Kattenbusch indeed suggests that it is surprising to find the words at the end of a series of predicates such as 'unbegotten, invisible, infinite, immutable, good and just.' But the difficulty vanishes in the light of the new evidence.

The restoration of the remainder of the form is less difficult. I have come to the conclusion that Kattenbusch is right in supplying the words *Dominum nostrum* in Art. 2 from a later passage, in which Niceta speaking of the Three Persons calls the Son 'our Lord.' It seems

[1] *Script. uet. noua coll.* III. 2. 208–239.
[2] *Antiche reliquie liturgiche,* p. 47.

clear that Niceta had no word like *unicum* or *unigenitum*, and this again is a curious point of contact with the Arian author, who has the phrase *Deus unigenitus* and calls the Son *Deus et Dominus* but nowhere *Filius Dei unicus* or *unigenitus*.

I cannot make up my mind to include *sepultum* with Kattenbusch in Art. 4. It is probable that the form had the word, being a daughter form of the Old Roman Creed, but Niceta's sermon and the Arian sermon give no hint that it was included.

The addition *uiuus a mortuis* has a parallel in the Spanish Creed, having been introduced most probably by Martin of Bracara, who came from Pannonia and whose *de correctione rusticorum* is dependent on Niceta. He adds *Deus et Dominus* in Art. 2.

The Austrian MSS. have the datives *sanctae ecclesiae catholicae* after *credere*. This is a natural variation of expression in a sermon and corresponds to "ut credas Dominicae passioni" in c. 5, but there is no foundation for the assumption that datives could stand in the Creed form in place of accusatives. Kattenbusch makes the interesting suggestion that the distinction which was drawn between belief *in* Divine Persons and belief *that there is* a holy Catholic Church, expressed by *credo* with accusatives, dates from the time of the Macedonian controversy. Macedonius accepted the Creed and the argument was used against him that the use of the preposition *in* before *Spiritum sanctum* guarded the faith in His Deity. Certainly Niceta emphasises the distinction by his words: "Post professionem beatae trinitatis iam profiteris te credere *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*."

All critics now agree that *communionem sanctorum* was included in Niceta's Creed. The idea of such holy fellowship was not new, being found in Cyril's teaching

(*Catech.* xviii. 26–28), but it seems peculiarly appropriate that such an important expansion of the idea implied in the holy Church, in part militant on earth, in part resting in Paradise, should be perhaps first introduced by the missionary bishop of a remote provincial town, who in his hymn *Te Deum* so clearly expressed the thought that the worship of "the holy Church throughout all the world" is joined to the praise of angels, apostles, prophets, and martyrs.

Kattenbusch[1] raises the interesting question, Did Niceta know the prayer in the Apostolic Constitutions[2] which makes mention of holy patriarchs, prophets, just, apostles, martyrs and all who have pleased God since the world began[3]?

In Art. 11 the British Museum MS. supports my view that *in* should be omitted before *remissionem* and *uitam.* As I suggested above[4], this is also in accordance with the distinction which Niceta draws between belief in Divine Persons and belief that there is a holy Church and remission of sins.

In Art. 12 the addition of *tuae* after *carnis*, even though it occurs twice, seems to me to be hortatory, not a proof that the Creed had *huius carnis* with the Aquileian Creed.

In the January number of the Benedictine Review (1904) Dom Morin has published a most interesting

[1] II. 931.

[2] *Apos. Cons.* viii. 12: *ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος* [ab exordio saeculi, Nic.] *εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαικῶν, καὶ πάντων ὧν ἐπίστασαι αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα.*

[3] Ed. Lagarde, p. 257.

[4] Add. Note.

Creed, which may with great probability be ascribed to S. Jerome. It seems to be a composite form, consisting of his Baptismal Creed enlarged by the addition of phrases belonging to the Creed of Jerusalem. It may have been prepared to present to Cyril of Jerusalem in token of his orthodoxy[1]. It throws no light on the question whether the Dalmatian (or Pannonian ?) Creed[2] which, as one imagines, would be his Baptismal Creed, contained *caeli et terrae creatorem*, since that section of the form is taken from the Jerusalem Creed. But it contains the clause *sanctorum communionem*. This seems to prove that the clause had come into the Creed of the Danubian provinces, Pannonia, Dacia, from the middle of the 4th century. The new evidence seems to warrant the classification of Niceta's Creed as a Creed from Western Illyricum. There is no further need to question whether he could have received it from Gaul, e.g. whether he was educated in Gaul. The special features, which may be traced in Gallican Creeds of the 5th century, are the omission of the words *creatorem caeli et terrae*, and the repetition of *Credo* in articles 2 and 9. Niceta's Creed has neither of them, and must not be classed as Gallican simply because it includes *sanctorum communionem*. On the contrary, the new evidence seems to justify Dr Sanday's argument that there was a strong set of the current of influence from behind the Balkans through Aquileia to Milan and so to Gaul[3].

[1] He wrote to a priest called Mark about the year 377 (*Ep.* 17, *n.* 4): 'De fide autem quod dignatus es scribere, sancto Cyrillo dedi conscriptam fidem.'

[2] S. Jerome was born at Stridon in Dalmatia, on the border of Pannonia. But it belonged, as Remesiana did before 379, to Western Illyricum.

[3] *Journal of Theol. Studies*, III. p. 14, following Duchesne.

There are two other points which need mention. Niceta's Creed does not include *descendit ad inferna*, which is found in the new Creed of Jerome, and was probably imported from Syria into the Sirmian Creed of 359, half a century before we can trace it in the Aquileian Creed quoted by Rufinus[1]. Whether it belonged to S. Jerome's Baptismal Creed or not it is impossible to say. Secondly, the word *uiuus* after *resurrexit*, which found its way into Spanish Creeds, is not found in the Creed of Jerome, or the Arian Creed, so that its appearance in the Creed of Niceta does not prove that it had a place in the other creeds of the province. But we may hope for further light on these points.

The form of Renunciation in this sermon is of scarcely less interest than the form of Creed. As Dr Kattenbusch has rightly said, these forms have not received enough attention. There is no collection of them like Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbolen*. Yet they sometimes supply interesting information as to the history of a sermon on the creed. In this case we may trace dependence on the form used by Niceta in sermons of Martin of Bracara[2], and of Eligius of Noyon[3].

The form found in Frag. 3 of Niceta's sermon seems to be less exact than the other, marking its variations by italics. A preacher would naturally amplify his teaching on such a subject from time to time.

[1] Sanday, *art. cit.* p. 17.

[2] *De corr. rusticorum*, ed. Caspari.

[3] *Ib.* p. 63, n. 2, where he proves that the *de rectitudine catholicae conuersationis* of Eligius is probably dependent on Martin's sermon, and on Niceta's.

Niceta *de symbolo.*	Martin *de corr. rustic.*	Eligius *de rect. cath. conu. tract.*
Qui credit in Christo ...abrenunciat inimico et angelis eius id est uniuersae magicae curiositati quae constat per angelos Sathanae.	Abrenuncias diabolo et angelis eius	Abrenuntiastis diabolo
Deinde renunciat et operibus eius malis, id		et omnibus pompis eius et operibus eius
est culturis et idolis, sortibus et auguriis,	culturis et idolis eius	idolis, sortibus auguriis
pompis et theatris, furtis et fraudibus, fornicationibus et ebrietatibus, choris atque mendaciis.	furtis et fraudibus, fornicationibus et ebrietatibus	furtis, fraudibus, fornicationibus, ebrietatibus et mendaciis. Haec sunt uere opera et pompae eius.
	et omnibus operibus eius malis.	

The form in the 3rd Fragment of Niceta *de symbolo* is: "Deinde abrenuntiet et operibus eius *malignis*, id est culturis et idolis, sortibus et auguriis, pompis et theatris, furtis et fraudibus, *homicidiis* et fornicationibus, *irae, auaritiae, superbiae et iactantiae, commessationibus* et ebriositatibus, choris atque mendaciis et his similibus malis."

ADD. NOTE. THE CLAUSE *SANCTORVM COMMUNIO* IN THE APOSTLES' CREED.

The history of the clause *Communion of Saints* is very obscure. Niceta is perhaps the first writer who quotes it in a Creed-form. Since his sympathies were with the West it may still be regarded as a Western addition to the Creed. Harnack[1] indeed suggests that he got the idea from Cyril of Jerusalem, but the passages quoted from

[1] Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*[3] I. 754.

Cyril's *Catecheses*[1] do not go beyond expression of the general idea of fellowship, which saints enjoy in the holy Church.

During the Donatist controversy S. Augustine used the words *Communion of Saints* as a synonym for the Congregation or Church of Saints, using *communio* in the concrete sense of outward fellowship. In *Serm.* 52 he speaks of the Catholic Church as removing Patripassian heretics from the *communion of saints.* In *Serm.* 117 he speaks of heretics as not attaining a share in the fellowship of saints. Here the word used is *societas* not *communio*, and the meaning seems to verge towards the abstract sense in which the term is used by Niceta. Also *c. Faustum* xvi. 16 Augustine speaks of the eternal society of saints. And this abstract idea can be traced back in the history of the African Church to the second century. In the Passion of S. Perpetua the author expresses his wish that those who know of the martyrdom by hearing may have communion with the holy martyrs and through them with the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the abstract sense of *communio* is plainly the older.

Zahn[2] starting from the Donatist use of the word *communio* in the concrete sense[3] and contrasting this with the abstract meaning, attached to it by Niceta and later Gallican writers, suggests that its original meaning had been forgotten and that it was really a translation from the Greek *ἁγίων κοινωνία*, and meant 'participation in the holy things,' that is in Sacraments.

[1] *Cat.* xviii. 26 *fin.*, 27, 28.

[2] *Apostles' Creed, Trans.* p. 195.

[3] *Litterae Donatistarum*, Flauio Marcellino (Aug. *opp.* IX. App. p. 64 ff.). Quoniam si apostoli...in *ecclesia* zizania, i.e. filios diaboli pullulantes, in sanctorum communione dimittendos didicissent, numquam Simonem, etc. ecclesiae liminibus eiecissent.

It is true that Augustine in one of his sermons on the Creed uses the phrase *communio sacramentorum*, putting it just where Niceta brings in *communio sanctorum*. And there is a parallel in the mention of the Sacrament of Baptism in the Old Jerusalem Creed. Some later sermons indeed give this explanation. One[1] goes so far as to say that the clause teaches that the faithful should communicate every Lord's Day. But we must not set this idea of *Communion of Sacraments* in a false antithesis to the idea of *Communion of Saints*. The one is the complement of the other. While I acknowledge that Augustine generally uses the word *communio* in the concrete sense his usage tends to change to the other.

In the Gallican Church there was a tendency to limit the title 'saint' to the departed, especially martyrs, and the reverence paid to graves and relics of the martyrs led to an extravagant opposition headed by Vigilantius. The new clause when added to the Gallican Creed in the course of the 5th century offered a convenient opportunity for teaching on the subject. The sermon on the Creed ascribed to Faustus of Riez[2] has the following:

> Credamus et sanctorum communionem, sed sanctos non tam pro Dei parte, sed pro Dei honore ueneremur....Colamus in sanctis timorem et amorem Dei, non diuinitatem Dei; colamus merita, non quae de proprio habent, sed quae accipere pro deuotione meruerunt. Digne ita uenerandi sunt, dum nobis Dei cultum et futuri uitae desiderium contemptu mortis insinuant.

In another sermon[3], which appears to give substantially the teaching of Faustus, though it has been edited by another, we read:

[1] *Cod. Sessor.* 52. [2] *Hom.* 2, ed. Caspari, *Anecd.* I. 338.
[3] Faustinus *de symbolo*, ed. Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen*, p. 250.

Illos hic sententia ista confundit qui sanctorum et amicorum Dei cineres non in honore debere esse blasphemant, qui beatorum martyrum gloriosam memoriam sacrorum reuerentia monumentorum colendam esse non credunt. In symbolum praeuaricati sunt et Christo in fonte mentiti sunt, et per hanc infidelitatem in medio sinu uitae locum morti aperuerunt ubi secundum symbolum donatur abremissio peccatorum.

On these words an argument was founded by Harnack[1] to prove that the words were introduced into the Creed in opposition to the party of Vigilantius. But as Dr Swete truly says the use to which the clause was turned by Faustus and his successors was an afterthought. Their interpretation "erred by excluding the living not by including the departed[2]." He takes the view that the clause was originally anti-Donatist rather than anti-Vigilantian. The difficulty which lies in the way of this view is the fact that the African Church did not possess the clause in its creed, and the Sermon of Niceta makes no reference to Donatism. It seems therefore to be more satisfactory to trace it back to an origin unmarred by controversy, in the ordinary catechetical teaching of Niceta as a missionary Bishop, his thought in part, perhaps, moulded by the words of the Liturgy, or guided by the common use of the Church in Western Illyricum.

For further discussion of the question see Dr J. P. Kirsch, *Die Lehre v. d. Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im christl. Altertum* (1900), and the whole section on this clause in Dr Kattenbusch's *Das apostolische Symbol*, pp. 927–950.

[1] *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss.*
[2] *Apostles' Creed*[3], p. 87.

§ 6. THE *DE VIGILIIS* AND THE *DE PSALMODIAE BONO*.

Worship is the natural expression of faith. Indeed the Catholic Faith has been defined in a famous sentence as the worship of one God in Trinity[1]. We follow therefore the natural order when we turn from Niceta's work as a theologian to the treatises in which he discussed principles of worship, and gave directions as to the due order which should be observed. This will be the best introduction to the study of the hymn *Te Deum*, which has been his chief contribution to the worship of Christendom.

In Migne's *Patrologia* both the *de uigiliis* and the *de psalmodiae bono* are ascribed to Nicetius of Trèves, a prominent and worthy bishop of the 6th century. It was, I believe, d'Achery who suggested this theory. He was misled by a late MS. which I cite as S^2. Labbe, Sirmond, and Holstein rightly attributed them to Niceta of Dacia. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris may be seen the edition which Holstein had prepared of both treatises but which never saw the light. The internal evidence of both treatises in their original forms proves decisively that they belong to the 4th century, so that the claims of Nicetius of Trèves need no consideration.

It will be convenient to describe the MSS. of both treatises, and I will then endeavour to show how they illustrate the Church worship of the period.

[1] In the *Quicunque uult*, verse 3: Catholica fides haec est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Vnitate ueneremur.

[2] *Cod. lat. Paris.* 13089 (Sangermanensis 591, 3) *saec.* xi.

THE MSS. OF THE *DE VIGILIIS*.

The original text of the *de uigiliis* has been preserved among the letters of S. Jerome[1]. It may have come to his notice when he was staying at Constantinople in A.D. 381, or later on in Rome, and came thus to be preserved among his papers. The only MS. which I have come across is:

A = *Cod. Cantabrig.* Dd. vii. 2 of the 15th century[2]. It is the second of two large folios containing the works of S. Jerome and is richly illuminated.

The second recension, which was made at least as early as the 7th century, since the earliest MS. goes back to that date, has alterations which were probably not made by the author. He may have edited these sermons for publication, as he edited the *de fide*. Thus c. 4: 'Res exigit, carissimi,'—may be the beginning of the original sermon, while the first three chapters represent replies to objections which he had heard meanwhile. Probably Niceta himself added the sentence at the end which speaks of the address as a book and promises the *de psalmodiae bono* as a second volume. But the later editor is responsible for the frequent change in the form of address from the second person singular to the plural. It was Niceta's custom to address himself to one hearer, a method which preachers in all ages have found effective. Several sentences have been cut out which did not interest him. Thus he turned Niceta's gentle pleading

1 Cf. his letter to Heliodorus quoted above.

2 On f. 320 *b* of Vol. I. is a note ix Iulii MCCCCLXXXX. It was given to the University Library by John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells.

with the scruples of old age, his appeal to an old man not to hinder the young and strong from obtaining spiritual benefit from a service for which he had not strength, into a bald suggestion that those who cannot stand should sit. He also cut out references to heathen imitations of Christian services. Dom Morin writes[1] that he cannot help suspecting the hand of Caesarius of Arles in three or four places, which I have noted in my *apparatus*. "In fact this same recension (the text is incomplete at the end) appears as piece xxxvii in a collection of homilies bearing the name of Caesarius (*Cod. Venet. Marc. lat.* II. xcii. of the 13th or 14th century)."

The MSS. of this recension are:

B = *Cod. Vatic. Palat.* 210. *Saec.* vii., a semi-uncial MS. from the monastery of Lorsch[2]. The *de uigiliis* and the *de psalmodiae bono* are included among works of Augustine between a tract on the Beatitudes and a sermon preached in the Church of Restitutus on the birthday of S. Vincentius.

C = *Cod. Parisinus, Nouv. acq. lat.* 1448 (Clunis 33). *Saec.* ix.; contains the same collection, and like B preserves the form Niceta.

S = *Cod. Parisinus* 13089. *Saec.* xi.

T = *Cod. Bruxellensis* 10615—10729. *Saec.* xii.; contains a collection similar to that in B C, but the tract on the Beatitudes follows, and the sermon on S. Vincentius, numbered xvi., precedes the tracts of Niceta, which are numbered xx., xxi.

[1] Letter of Jan. 27, 1904.

[2] It was taken among the spoils of Heidelberg by Maximilian, and sent by him to Gregory XV.

THE MSS. OF THE *DE PSALMODIAE BONO.*

The original form of this treatise was discovered by Card. Tommasi[1], but the first transcription was published by Dom G. Morin[2] in 1897, from *Cod. Vatic.* 5729:

V = *Cod. Vatic.* 5729. *Saec.* xi., xii., the so-called Farfa Bible. Niceta's treatise (*fol.* 253) heads a series of prologues on the Psalms. Among other treatises we may note 'Explanatio Florenti Gregorii de titulis psalmorum,' 'Epistula Flori ad Hyldradum abbatem,' and the Canons of Priscillian corrected by Peregrinus. It also contains the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the *Hymnus sancti Hilarii ad missam*[3].

While this book was passing through the press, Mr F. C. Burkitt sent me references[4] to two other MSS. which contain the original form of the treatise. One is the famous Latin Bible known as *Cod. Cavensis* in the Benedictine Abbey of Corpo di Cava, near Salerno.

[1] *Opp.*, ed. Vezzosi ii. *praef.* n. vii.

[2] *Rev. Bén.* 1897, p. 385. A preliminary notice was published in the *Rev. Biblique*, 1897, p. 282.

[3] The misspellings of this MS. are numerous, so I have not included them in my *apparatus criticus*. They may be classified as follows: ae for e—caelebratur, ae, praecetur, aecclesia, aessae, aepistula, praestrepat; oe for e—poedes; b for p—abta, princebs; c for t—denunciatione, quocies, pocius, sepcies, pacientia, intencius; d for t—dereliquid, inquid; t for d—aliut; e for ae—diuine, Abrahe, lingue, tragende, queramus, bone, demonis, uidue, aduene, queque, que, terre, sepe, prisce, lepre, merore, lete, sacre, marthe, equo; h added—hac, hostenditur, diachonus, Helisabeth, hedificabit (-atio), perhenne; h omitted—proibitur, imnorum, inibitam, abet, ortatur; i for y—misterii, himnifice, imnorum, cithara, cimbala, timphana; re for er—supresticionibus; dampnatio, ressurrectio, reffert, immagines, effesios, apochalypsin, apocalypsin.

[4] Through S. Berger's posthumous memoir *Préfaces jointes aux Livres de la Bible*, 1902, p. 44.

Through the kindness of the Prior, Dom Placido Orilia, I have obtained a collation. The other is *Cod.* A. 2 in the National Library at Madrid, *saec.* xi, but I have not been able to obtain a collation.

A = *Cod. Cauensis. Saec.* viii. ix. The MS. was "written in Spain, probably in Castile or Leon, in small round and beautiful Visigothic minuscules, by a scribe Danila[1]." It supports the text found in the Farfa Bible which in many instances it improves. But although it is earlier than the other by some three centuries it shows many of the same corruptions, and the long lacuna in cc. 12, 13 must still be supplied from the later recension. I have classified the misspellings in a note[2].

Of the recension several MSS. are known, most of

[1] H. J. White in Hastings' *Dict. of Bible*, IV. p. 886.

[2] ae for e—aeloquia, aemissio, aenim, aepistola, aesse, aesset, aetiam, caecinisse, haedito, haelectus, preęunte, temerarae, temporae; b for p—abta; b for v—Iubenis, libor, parbam, solbit; d for t—ed, inquid, adque; e for ae—eterni, heque, hequo, hetatis, precauere, precetur, precordia, predicatur, premittitur, prescriptionis, presertim, presignata, prestrepat, prestrepere; ee for e—poteest; e for i—sterelis; g for j—gejunium; h added—ha, hab, hac, hactilus, haduc, haedito, haegressus, haelectus, haexpromit (expromit), habitus, hambigere, han, haperuit, haspera, hauctoribus, hauctoritate, he, hedificationem, hegesios, hegypte, helemento, hemissa, heque, hequo, hero, heruditi, hesse, hetatis, hetiam, heuacuare, heuangelicis, heuidenti, hunius, hisdem, hobiciunt, hoculos, hoccupatione, hofficium, holim, holiueti, homnis -e -es -ia -ium, homnino, hoperabatur, hopere, hoperosa, hopinionis, hopprimebat, hora, horamus -atur -etur -are -ans -andi -ando, horatio -nis -nibus, hore, horet, horganis, horientalibus, hubi, hunde, hungulis, hunusquisque, hut, hutile, hutilitate, hutrorumque, hymagines; h omitted—abitant, aduc, proibitur, protraam, repreendo; ii for i—hiis; i for y—martiribus; n for m—inplemini; oe for e—foemina -as; pp for p—apperuit, supprestiticnibus; qu for c—quonantur, quum; r for rr—uerentibus; t for d—aliut, illut, istut; u for b—delectauit, deuitum, dubitauit, fleuilem, glorificauit, meditauitur, placeuit, pleuis, praestauit, superuia; x for s—dextruere; y for i—cythara. To which may be added conuentu for -ui, srahel for Isahel, storia for historia, theusaurus for thesaurus.

which, BCST, have been described above as containing the tract 'On Vigils.' There remains:

P = *Cod. Parisinus* 10604, *saec.* x., in which this tract here called *Sermo sancti Nicetii episcopi* follows (*fol.* 93 *r.*) the *Enchiridion* of S. Augustine, and is followed by a tract on the Beatitudes.

In this case even more clearly than in the former the editor was not Niceta himself. He leaves out the preface in which Niceta refers to the current objections to congregational singing which were raised at the end of the 4th century. He leaves out also the reference to the apocryphal work *Inquisitio Abrahae*, and a reference to Elizabeth as author of the Magnificat. Neither of these references would have been likely to go, had Niceta himself edited his old sermon[1]. But it is easy to understand that an editor, say of the 6th century, knew nothing about *apocrypha* and regarded only the current tradition as to the authorship of the Magnificat.

These ruthless excisions throw light on the destruction of many writings which might have survived the ravages of moths, and fire, and damp, and the sacking of libraries in war, if only they had found grace in the eyes of a copyist of a later day before he threw them on the rubbish heap.

The Order of Vigils in the Fourth Century.

The origin of 'the liturgy of prayers' referred to in these treatises is very obscure. The programme of

[1] There is a less obvious reference to Elizabeth as the author (c. 3), which proves that the other was not an interpolation: "Nec Elizabeth... Deum de ipsa anima magnificare cessauit."

spiritual exercises in the 4th century was very much what it had been in the days of Tertullian—Psalms, lessons, prayers. During the third quarter of that century the practice of keeping the sabbath vigil before the Lord's Day was extended to the use of daily morning and evening prayer, more particularly by men and women who devoted themselves to a strictly religious life. It was felt better to supervise their devotions in the churches, and forms of prayer grew into fixed shapes upon which were founded the later Hour Offices[1]. This development can be studied in the practice of Egyptian monks and in the writings of Cassian; but it was not found in Dacia in the time of Niceta, who speaks as a Bishop to his congregation, not as an Abbot to his monks. He mentions only the weekly offices of two nights in which his hearers should purify the five working days[2]. There are two notes of time in these treatises which require mention. The first, in the *de uigiliis*, is a quotation from a sermon of Basil of Caesarea[3], which is introduced with the words: "Dixit namque uir inter pastores eximius." This does not necessarily imply that S. Basil was alive, but it is the expression of a contemporary rather than of a later writer. The second, in the *de psalmodiae bono*, is a reference to the recent introduction of congregational singing. This also points to the influence of S. Basil, who in spite of opposition introduced it into Cappadocia before 375. Gregory of Nyssa tells us that the Emperor Valens when he visited Basil's church in 372 was impressed by the thundering

[1] Batiffol, *Hist. du Bréviaire romain*, 1895, p. 5.

[2] *De uig.* 2: Nec sane onerosum uel difficile uideri debet etiam delicatis uel infirmis corporibus in septimana duarum noctium, id est sabbati et dominicae, portionem aliquam Dei ministerio deputare.

[3] The first Homily on Fasting, Migne, *P. G.* 31, 184 *b*.

chant of the psalms. In 375 Basil wrote a letter[1] to the clergy of Neocaesarea defending the practice of vigils, and explaining how they varied their singing. Sometimes the whole congregation sang antiphonally, and they found that this strengthened them for meditation on the Scriptures with concentrated attention of mind and fewer wandering thoughts. Then again they let one sing and the rest respond, mixing prayer with their praise till day dawned, when all with one mouth and one heart sang together a psalm of confession, each adding the words of penitence which suited his own need. S. Basil spoke of this practice as extending to Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestine, Arabia, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, and dwellers by the Euphrates.

Antiphonal singing by the whole congregation began in Antioch about the year 350, when two orthodox laymen, Flavianus and Diodorus, afterwards Bishops of Antioch and Tarsus, gathered a congregation and taught them to sing hymns, in opposition to the Arian Bishop Leontius. The custom spread rapidly, but was opposed by many of the Bishops. A synod held at Laodicea, 360, decreed: "Besides the canonical psalm-singers, who climb into the gallery and sing from the book, shall none sing in the church."

In a famous passage of his Confessions S. Augustine describes the occasion on which S. Ambrose introduced the new Psalmody at Milan, in the spring of 386, under the tyranny of Justina, "when the devout people kept watch in the church ready to die with their Bishop." "Then it was first instituted that after the manner of the Eastern Churches Hymns and Psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the

[1] *Ep.* 207. 2, 3.

tediousness of sorrow: and from that day to this the custom is retained, divers (yea almost all) Thy congregations throughout other parts of the world following herein[1]."

With congregational singing grew up also a more ornate style of music. The old-fashioned style, which we can trace at this period at Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome, was very simple. The reader used few inflexions, and those who upheld the old style maintained that the servants of Christ should so sing that the words which are read rather than the voice of him who sings should please the hearers[2]. S. Augustine had many scruples whether it was right to stir the feelings so deeply as he felt his to be stirred by the new music. The memory of his first impressions reassured him:

> At times that mode seems to me safer, which I remember to have been often told me of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who made the reader of the psalm utter it with so slight inflexion of voice, that it was nearer speaking than singing. Yet again, when I remember the tears I shed at the Psalmody of Thy Church, in the beginning of my recovered faith; and how at this time I am moved, not with the singing, but with the things sung, when they are sung with a clear voice and modulation most suitable, I acknowledge the great use of this institution[3].

He felt, as Batiffol says, that it was "a disquieting invasion by art of the traditional austerity of worship." But we have learnt that it is an impossibility to set up an unchangeable canon of musical taste.

This quotation from S. Augustine is an interesting

[1] *Conf.* ix. 15.

[2] Hieronymus, *In Ephes.* iii. 5: "Sic cantet seruus Christi, ut non uox canentis, sed uerba placeant quae leguntur."

[3] *Conf.* x. 50.

commentary on the situation with which Niceta had to deal. He was met with the objection that S. Paul taught the Ephesians to sing and make melody in their hearts, which was interpreted to mean silently, not with the inflexions of the voice like an actor in tragedy. It is quite probable that the first attempts of congregations were painful to the ears of musicians, but this was not the point of the objectors. Niceta answered them by turning upon them their own quotation with the unanswerable reply that when the Apostle says "speaking to yourselves" he must mean with the lips and tongue. He proceeds however to give most sensible advice to his flock not to join in the singing unless they can sing in tune and in time! He had no patience with the shallow conservative who objected mainly because the practice was new[1]. He was concerned to give Scriptural authority for such singing in the familiar stories from David and Isaiah down to the watch which Paul and Silas kept in the prison at Philippi. "Those who blame are strangers from the Catholic Faith. If our people take offence—pity them as indolent, sleepy, old or weak. If infirmity and sickness hinder, the will to come must make the heart glad at home. 'Alios enim effectus coronat, alios uoluntas pia laetificat.'" Much of the address is so modern in tone that one feels no surprise at coming upon the familiar phrase of our vestry prayers "ut quae labiis sonamus corde teneamus[2]." It would be strange

[1] In the same way in reply to the objection that the new custom of keeping vigils was superfluous or idle, or what is worse, indecorous, he expressed surprise that people should say such things of such simple and truly spiritual exercises.

[2] Dr Gibson points out to me that the phrase also occurs in the Canons of the Council of Carthage, which have been traced to a Gallican source.

indeed if we felt no kinship of spirit with the author of the *Te Deum* when he writes on his own subject.

The question of the form of service used at these vigils is perplexing. I have not been able to discover any plan in the use of psalms or lessons. It may be presumed that the order of service was like that directed in the 8th book of the Apostolic Constitutions. First a psalm, possibly that familiar to us in the English translation as 'Hail gladdening Light' (φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης), which was sung while the lamps were lit. Then the deacon bade prayers for catechumens, energumens, competentes, penitents, who were dismissed, after which the deacon invited the faithful to pray. We may compare the words (*de psalm. bono* c. 3): "diaconus clara uoce in domo Dei sancti praeconii admonet cunctos."

Probably the lessons were taken, as in the Clementine Liturgy, from the Law, the Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels. In addition to the Psalms one or more Scriptural canticles were sung. In Rome, from the sixth century, a canticle was assigned to each day of the week. In other Churches, in Milan as in the East, several canticles were sung in succession, particularly on Saturday and Sunday. By comparing the list of Scriptural canticles quoted by Niceta with the lists of those in use in Constantinople, Milan, and that Church in Gaul for which the famous Psalter (*Cod. Vatic. Regin.* xi.), of the 5th or 6th century, was written, Dom Morin has made it clear that Niceta's list belongs rather to the Eastern than the Western list, though it alters the order Isaiah—Habakkuk, and adds the canticle from Jeremiah (probably Lam. v. 1–22) as in the Gallican list.

Niceta.	Constantinople.	Milan.	Gaul.
Moses, Exodus	Moses, Exodus	Isaiah xxvi. 9	Benedicite
Moses, Deuteron.	Moses, Deuteron.	Hannah	Moses, Exodus
Hannah	Hannah	Habakkuk	Moses, Deuteron.
Isaiah xxvi. 9	Habakkuk	Jonah	Isaiah lx. 1—14
Habakkuk	Isaiah xxvi. 9	Moses, Deuteron.	Isaiah lxi. 10—lxii. 7
Jonah	Jonah Benedicite (1st portion)	Moses, Exodus	Hannah
Jeremiah (?)	Benedicite (2nd portion)	Zachariah (Luke (i. 68)	Mary
Benedicite		Mary (Luke i. 46)	Isaiah xxvi. 9
Elizabeth (Luke i. 46)	Mary (Luke i. 46)	Benedicite	Judith
			Ezekiel
			Jeremiah (Lam. v. 1—22)
			4 Esdras viii. 20—36
			Azarias (Dan. iii. 26—45)

In addition to these Scriptural canticles other hymns had come into use in Syria during the 4th century. The *Gloria in excelsis* for the morning and the hymn *Laudamus te* for the evening were counted as private psalms (*psalmi idiotici*). To the same class belongs the hymn φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης which was written in the 3rd century and was used at the lighting of the lamps.

One of the MSS. of the letter of S. Basil quoted above (*Ep.* 207 *Cod. Reg.*) has in the margin of the sentence about the *psalmus confessionis* which was sung at dawn, τὸ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις λέγει. The editor in Migne's *Patrologia* prefers to think that the Fifty-first Psalm (Ps. li. (l.)) is meant. But there is no question that the *Gloria in excelsis* was so used, and the words of S. Basil which follow apply very well to the prayer for mercy in that hymn: ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι. Does this throw light on the

penitential character of some of the antiphons which have been transferred from the *Gloria* to the *Te Deum* (26), "Dignare, Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire" (27), "Miserere nobis, Domine, miserere nobis" (Ps. cxxiii. 3)?

The *Te Deum* was no doubt written for use as a *psalmus idioticus* and follows the lines of the *Gloria*[1].

These Offices of praise and prayer led up to the Liturgy. From the *de diuersis appellationibus*[2] we learn that there was a daily Eucharist, which had become an established custom in Carthage in the time of S. Cyprian, though the Alexandrian Church in the time of S. Athanasius celebrated it only on Sundays and Fridays[3].

It would be of great interest to find some clue through Niceta to the early liturgiology of the Danube lands. The only clue which Mr F. E. Brightman has been able to find is the form of *Sanctus* in the *Te Deum*[4] which is not Byzantine: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.* "The only Eastern rites which have 'Lord *God* of Sabaoth' are the Syriac—both Western (Jacobite) and Eastern (Nestorian). All Greek rites (Byzantine, Syrian and Egyptian) as well as the Coptic and Abyssinian have 'Lord of Sabaoth' simply." The quotation in the *de Sp. s. pot.* 'et illud *unus sanctus*, utique Spiritus, *unus Dominus, Iesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris, Amen*' "is obviously the ℟ to the *Sancta sanctis*—εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός. This is Byzantine and Syrian Greek (*Ap. Constt., S. Cyr. Hier., Jo. Dam., Lit. S. Jas.*); as

[1] See p. cv.

[2] c. 1: Sacerdos dicitur, uel quia suum corpus oblationem et hostiam obtulit Deo Patri pro nobis; uel quod per nos dies singulos offerri dignatur.

[3] S. Ath. *Apol. Frag.* 24; *Apol. Const.* 45; cf. *Apol. c. Ar.* 11.

[4] The quotation of the *Sanctus* which formerly stood at the end of the *de Sp. sancto* has now been excluded from the text.

against Syriac (Jacobite and Nestorian), and Egyptian (Gk, Copt., etc.) which have 'One holy Father, one holy Son,' etc. But on the other hand it is possible, or even probable, that the Gallican had the *Sancta sanctis* (see Mozarab., and some MSS. of *Greg. Sacr.*); and Mr W. C. Bishop has suggested to me that the mysterious Gallican *Trecanum* may have been the ℟ to the *Sancta sanctis*—in which case *Unus sanctus* etc. may have been its form. The 'et illud' of Niceta seems to point to a well-known form and even to be included in the '*in mysteriis dicimus*[1].' Otherwise the only possible quotation from a liturgy which I have noticed is 'fontem sanctificationis' in *de Sp. s. pot.* which is ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ of the *Lit. S. Bas.* But it also occurs in S. Basil *Ep.* viii. 2, and elsewhere[2]." An old translation of the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus has *fons sanctitatis et sanctificationis ministrator.*

§ 7. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *TE DEVM.*

We come lastly to discuss the claim raised in Dom Morin's famous article[3] that Niceta should be regarded as the author of the *Te Deum.* This solution of a problem which in modern times has excited much interest has already gained widespread acceptance[4]. Indeed the

[1] S. Didymus frequently quotes εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος without reference to the τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, though it is not Egyptian.

[2] Letter of March 22, 1898.

[3] *Rev. Bénéd.* 1894, p. 49.

[4] In Germany from Dr Zahn, *Neuere Beiträge z. Gesch. des ap. Symbolums* (Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift, VII. 2); from Dr Kattenbusch, *Das ap. Symbolum* II. p. 441; in England in my *Introduction to the Creeds*, chap. xi., and from Rev. W. H. Frere, *A new hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 380. The Bishop of Salisbury, *The Te Deum*, ed. 2, p. 7, writes that Dom Morin's suggestion "is the most plausible that I have seen."

claims of other possible authors were never strong. We may hope that in time to come Niceta's name will be a household word among the Christian congregations whose hearts are stirred in every generation by his matchless hymn of praise.

THEORIES OF AUTHORSHIP.

The legend that the *Te Deum* was composed by S. Ambrose and S. Augustine on the memorable night of St Augustine's baptism may be traced back to the end of the 8th century. A passage in S. Augustine's Confessions proves that S. Ambrose introduced the use of such hymns about that time: "Then it was first instituted that after the manner of the Eastern Churches Hymns and Psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow[1]." But all the known hymns of S. Ambrose are written in metre, not in rhythmical prose. And the Chronicle of Milan, which was regarded as an authority for the tradition when it was erroneously ascribed to Bishop Datius († *c.* 552), is now admitted to be the work of Landulphus senior, a chronicler of the 11th century; it is therefore valueless as an authority. We note further that none of the MSS.[2] which preserve this tradition in the title of the *Te Deum* have any connexion with Milan, where we should expect such a tradition to survive, where in fact a distinct version of the text lasted till the 11th century. They are all MSS. of the ordinary text, except one which contains the Irish Version. The most

[1] *Conf.* ix. 15.

[2] Cod. Vindob. 1861, *saec.* viii.; *codd. Sangall.* 23 and 27, B. M. Add. MSS. 9046, *saec.* ix.; Trin. Coll. Dubl. E. 42 (the Irish Book of Hymns); B. M. Vitellius, E. xviii.; Bodl. Laud. 96, Bodl. Douce, 296, *saec.* xi.

important, the famous Golden Psalter at Vienna (*Cod.* 1861), was written in Gaul *c.* 795. It may be connected by its contents with the literary work of Leidrad, Bishop of Lyons (798–814)[1]. From the 9th century the tradition was widely current. Hincmar of Rheims mentions it in his treatise on Predestination *c.* 856. And up to the present day it has found favour in many quarters. It was not however the only tradition known in Gaul at that time.

Another tradition was known to Abbo of Fleury, who in a letter to some English monks, written in 985, attributed the hymn to S. Hilary of Poitiers. Abbo was a real student, and the reading *suscepturus* for *suscepisti* in verse 16, which was at one time supposed to be a pedantic correction from his pen, is now known to be the earliest attested reading of that verse. Daniel quotes a 9th century MS. from the Abbey of S. Emmeran as upholding this theory of authorship. But the MS. has not yet been identified among the Munich MSS. It is certain however that S. Hilary, like S. Ambrose, wrote in the old classical metres, and the hymns which have been ascribed to him do not correspond in style to the

[1] The Golden Psalter contains a collection of pieces forming an Introduction to the Psalms. It includes passages from Cassiodorus, Bede, Damasus, S. Jerome, Isidore, S. Augustine. The same collection is found in a MS. which was presented by Leidrad, while he was still Bishop, to the altar of S. Stephen at Lyons with an autograph inscription. The MS. is now in the Library of the Marist Fathers at Lyons. Since Leidrad's MS. includes the Athanasian Creed it disposes of the difficulty which was expressed regarding an early date for the Golden Psalter, by those who supposed that the Creed had not attained its present form till the middle of the 9th century. M. Delisle, *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXV. 2, suggests that Leidrad's MS. was prepared [illegible]e on his journey into Spain to confute the Adoptianists in 798. We [illegible]naturally infer that Leidrad helped to prepare this 'Introduction to [illegible]alter' for the Golden Psalter.

Te Deum. The natural inclination to ascribe anonymous writings to great men sufficiently accounts for both of these traditions.

In a few MSS. the names of Sisebut and Abundius are connected with the hymn. 'The monk Sisebut' is mentioned in a Breviary from Monte Cassino now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, *Cod.* 364 (759), in *Cod.* xi. of the Vatican Basilica, and a Breviary at Monte Cassino written *c.* 1086. The attribution to S. Abundius is found in an old Breviary of the Collegium Anicianum at Rome, and in *Cod. Vatic.* 4928, a monastic Breviary copied *c.* 1166[1].

Since these MSS. are connected with the Vatican Basilica and Monte Cassino, it seems probable that these are the names of monks who introduced the hymn into some new district of Italy, or composed some new musical setting. Other facts may be discovered which will throw light on their personal history, but their claim to the authorship need not be seriously considered.

There remains an interesting series of MSS., mostly of Irish *provenance*, which connect the hymn with the name Niceta (Nicetius).

1. The Irish Book of Hymns in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. *Saec.* xi.
2. MS. d'Angers xv. (a Roman Psalter from the Abbey of St Aubin). *Saec.* x.
3. Brit. Mus. Harl. 863. *Saec.* xi.
4. Brit. Mus. Arundel 60 (in which Vicetius is obviously a mistake for Nicetius). *Saec.* xi.
5. Bibl. Laurent. Florentin Plut. xvii. *Cod.* iii. *Saec.* xi.
6. " " " *Cod.* ix. *Saec.* xi.
7. " " " *Cod.* viii. *Saec.* xiii.
8. *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 13067 (in a Scotch or Irish hand from the Belgian Monastery of Hastière). *Saec.* xi., xii.

[1] Morin, *art. cit.* p. 55, n. 1.

9. Bibl. Vatic. *Cod. Palat. lat.* 35. *Saec.* xiv., xv.

10. A Gallican Psalter known to Ussher as in the Cotton Library, now lost. *Saec.* xii.

To these we may add an early printed Psalter *ad usum ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, London, 1555[1], which is evidently dependent on some earlier MS. It has the rubric *Canticum beati Niceti episcopi*, and the following note:

Quidam dicunt quod beatus Ambrosius cum baptisaret (*sic*) sanctum Augustinum incepit. *Te Deum laudamus*, et Augustinus respondit alium uersum: et sic composuerunt hunc hymnum.

Quod non est uerum sed decantauerunt usum prius compositum per beatum Nicetum episcopum Vien(n)ensem, quod innuit Cassidorus de institutione sanctarum scripturarum.

The first of these MSS., the Irish Book of Hymns[2], attracted the attention of Archbishop Ussher, who wrote about it to Voss, quoting also the lost Cotton MS. (No. 10). It has a curious preface[3] to the *Te Deum* written in Latin and Old Irish, which may be translated as follows:

Neceta, coarb [i.e. successor] of Peter, made this canticle. In Rome, now, it was made. Incertum autem quo tempore et ob quam causam factum, nisi Necetam Deum laudare uoluisse diceremus, dicens: *Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini, Te Deum laudamus.*

The many varieties of the name *Remesiana* in the MSS. of Gennadius and the actual occurrence of the form *ciuitatis Romanae* explain the mistake. The copyist had seen the inscription *ciuitatis Romanae episcopus.* It

[1] Printed by Kyngston and Sutton. The Bodleian Library has two copies, published in London by Antonius Kitson and Thomas Marshe.

[2] The MS. has been carefully edited for the Bradshaw Society by Dr J. H. Bernard, and Dr R. Atkinson, Vol. XIII.

[3] p. 59.

is also interesting to note that the name Niceta is substituted for Anicetus in one ancient list of the Bishops of Rome[1].

This well attested tradition deserves careful consideration. The Bishop of Salisbury reminds us that "Irish texts of the Vulgate New Testament sometimes retain correct readings of the Gospels which are lost elsewhere." If this is a reason for giving special attention to the Irish text of the *Te Deum* we must also give due weight to the Irish tradition as to the title, which is certainly much older than any of the extant MSS. in which it is quoted. Ireland was so much cut off from communication with the continent that it could easily preserve to the 10th century traditions inherited from the 5th.

There are strong reasons for identifying the Niceta (Nicetius) of these MSS. with Niceta of Remesiana. The internal evidence of the treatises *On Vigils* and *On the Good of Psalmody*, which were formerly ascribed to Nicetius of Trèves[2], proves that Niceta felt the need of such a hymn as the *Te Deum* and, so to speak, lived in the same sphere of religious thought. We may add to this the description which Paulinus of Nola gives of his friend. Paulinus admired Niceta's gifts as a hymn writer, beside whom he felt himself poor[3]. He hoped to gain inspiration[4], and that Niceta would visit the church of his patron-saint Felix with psalm-singing and hymns[5]. He imagined the sailors on the ship, which would carry Niceta over the Adriatic, taught to sing hymns in chorus,

[1] *Catalogue de Laon* ap. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* I. 22.

[2] See p. lxxxiv. The preservation of the form Niceta, though misspelt Neceta, disposes of the claims of Nicetius of Trèves or Nicesius of Vienne to the authorship of the *Te Deum*.

[3] *Carm.* xxvii. 193–199. [4] *ib.* 243–272. [5] *ib.* 500–510.

as in the 'silent land' the barbarians had already learnt to hymn Christ[1].

Dom Morin[2] has pointed out that Gennadius and Cassiodorus praise the writings of Niceta for their brevity and for the clearness and simplicity of their style. The same characteristics appear in the *Te Deum.* The effect which the whole composition conveys is felt to be strong, but this is rather due to the grandeur of the thoughts and the rapidity with which they follow each other in these few lines than to brilliancy of expression.

The parallels to the *Te Deum* in Niceta's writings are sufficiently close to prove that his mind often worked on these lines. Apart from a definite quotation we cannot expect more.

Ver. 2 *de fide* 4: ut Patrem credamus in sua aeternitate perfectum.

Ver. 7 *de symb.* 12: prophetae et apostoli et martyres. In the same sermon he writes of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and the righteous as united with angels in one Church.

Ver. 11. In the *de fide* he speaks of the *immensitas* of God's works in a way which implies that he would argue back to the *immensitas* of His Being. He writes of the majesty of the Father in *de fide* 4, of the Son *de diu. app.*, of the Spirit *de symb.* We may compare the title *de fide unicae maiestatis* which Gennadius gave to the 3rd Book of Instruction.

Ver. 12 *de fide* 4. Perfectus ipse perfectum de se genuerit ante omnia saecula uerum Filium...ut uerus Pater unigeniti Filii sui et uerus Filius Patris esse credatur; *de Sp. s.* 19 adorabo Filium...ueneratione.

Ver. 13 *de Sp. s.* 1: qui Patri et Filio in confessione sociatur.

Ver. 16 *de diu. app.*: propter nos homines homo nasci dignatus est; *de Sp. s.* 5 corpus quod accepit ex uirgine.

Ver. 17 *de diu. app.*: Ianua dicitur, quia per ipsum coelorum regni fidelibus aperitur introitus.

[1] *Carm.* xvii. 109–120.

[2] *Rev. Bén.* 1894, p. 75.

Ver. 20 *de diu. app.*: sanguinis sui pretio nos redemit.

Ver. 21 *de diu. app.*: Si mortem uitae istius perhorrescis memento quia resurrectio est...Si te peccati uoluptas sollicitat... cogita quia iustus iudex est...si te desperatio aliqua inuaserit, de remuneratione iustitiae, de caelestis gloriae expectatione credibili mente ianuam illum esse praesume.

For a similar sequence of thought we may compare *de psalmodiae bono*, c. 6:

Et quod his est omnibus excelsius Christi sacramenta cantantur. Nam et generatio eius exprimitur, et reiectio plebis impiae, et gentium hereditas nominatur. Virtutes Domini cantantur, passio ueneranda depingitur, resurrectio gloriosa monstratur, sedisse quoque ad dexteram non tacetur. Tunc deinde igneus Domini manifestatur aduentus, terribile de uiuis ac mortuis iudicium panditur. Quid plura? Etiam Spiritus creantis emissio et terrae renouatio reuelatur. Post quae erit in gloriam Domini sempiternum iustorum regnum, impiorum perenne supplicium.

Early Parallels and Early Quotations.

In an investigation of this kind it is useful to compare parallel passages in writings of approximately the same date as the hymn studied. If they do not supply the source upon which the writer drew, they at all events show in what direction men's thoughts were tending.

Such a parallel may be found in a service of praise, which is quoted in the newly-discovered *Testamentum Domini* i. 26. It was held at dawn and included the following response: "Te laudamus, te benedicimus, tibi confitemur Domine, teque supplicamus Deus noster." The date of the *Testamentum* is probably the 4th century.

The earliest form of the *Gloria in excelsis* may be traced back to the 4th century. The earliest Greek MS. is the *Cod. Alexandrinus* of the 5th century; but part of the hymn is quoted by Ps.-Athanasius *de Virginitate*,

who wrote in Syria in the 4th century. Another version, which may be ascribed to the pen of the writer known as Ps.-Ignatius, occurs in the *Apostolic Constitutions* vii. 47, in a collection of hymns and prayers, which was made at or near Antioch in the latter half of the fourth century[1].

I was formerly misled by a list of Bishops in two Paris MSS. (*Codd. lat.* 3836, 4279) into supposing that Niceta was present at the Synod of Antioch in 378[2]. The list indeed contains *Niceta macedonius*, but it appears to belong to the Synod of 341. This suggestion made it easy to conjecture that Niceta was acquainted with the hymn. But even if he never went to Antioch it is still possible that he knew it, and that his own hymn was modelled on these lines. The Angels' hymn of the New Testament, which led the author of the *Gloria* to his triumphant "We praise thee," may have led Niceta to the thought of the Angels' hymn of the Old Testament, the *Sanctus* of the Liturgy.

In the *Gloria* as in the *Te Deum* praise leads up to a short creed, which is followed by an address to Christ ending with a prayer. The threefold prayer for mercy which concludes the *Gloria* has a parallel in the antiphons of the ordinary version of the *Te Deum*. But there is too great uncertainty about the date of this version to allow of any argument based on this parallel.

At all events the suggestion that Niceta was to some extent influenced by the *Gloria* fits in well with another suggestion made by Zahn[3], that the setting of the hymn following the *Gloria* in the *Apostolic Constitutions* was

[1] I have printed both versions of the *Gloria* in my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 266.

[2] *ib.* pp. 107 and 269.

[3] *Art. cit.* p. 119.

used by Niceta. This hymn begins with Ps. cxii. 1: *Laudate pueri Dominum*, familiar to us in the Irish Version. And it ends with some words of praise beginning: *Te decet laus*, which follow the *Te Deum* in some MSS. of the ordinary version, while the Gospel is appointed to be read after it[1]. Unfortunately no MS. has both the Psalm verse and the *Te decet laus*.

An important series of parallels, or quotations, has been pointed out in the *Contestationes* or Prefaces of the so-called Gallican and Gothic Missals and the Gallican Sacramentary. Dr Gibson argued that, "whoever he was, the compiler of the hymn moved naturally and easily in the circle of phrases and expressions found in the fragments that remain to us of the Gallican Liturgy, but *not* found in that of the Church of Rome; and that the source on which he drew must have been the Eucharistic service of his Church, and more especially the variable Contestatio or Preface[2]."

These Prefaces, however, are now regarded by many critics as belonging to the 5th and 6th centuries and only prove quotation of the hymn in Gaul, where we know it was used from the 5th century. They do not point to a Gallican origin for the hymn, nor do they prove that Niceta was influenced in his choice of phrases by his own Liturgy. The following specimens may suffice[3].

v. 1. Dignum et iustum est...ut *Te Dominum* ac *Deum* totis uisceribus humana conditio ueneretur. *Miss. Goth.*, p. 604; *Miss. Gall.*, p. 753.

vv. 2, 3, 4. *Omnis terra* adorat te, et *confitetur* tibi: sed et *coeli* coelorum et angelicae *potestates* non cessant *laudare* dicentes *Sanctus*. *Miss. Goth.*, p. 518.

[1] e.g. Oxf. Bodl. Lib. Canon. 88.

[2] *C. Q. R.* April 1884, p. 19.

[3] I have quoted them all in my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 271.

Quem *angeli* et archangeli, quem throni et dominationes, quem *Cherubin et Seraphin incessabili uoce proclamant* dicentes[1], *Sanctus.* Mone ii.

It will be convenient to compare with them at this point other early quotations.

A possible quotation of the *Te Deum* has been pointed out in the *Apotheosis* of Prudentius, l. 1019 f.:

> Et quid agit Christus, si me non suscipit? aut quem
> Liberat infirmum, si dedignatur adire
> Carnis onus, manuumque horret monumenta suarum[2]?

It is not improbable that Prudentius became acquainted with it during his stay in Rome 400–405.

A less probable quotation has been found in a treatise of Pacianus of Barcelona[3], who died before 392. Gruber suggests that the words *calcatis mortis aculeis* may be a reminiscence of verse 17: *Tu deuicto mortis aculeo.* They are more probably, like Niceta's own phrase, an echo of St Paul's words 1 Cor. xv. 55. Gaudentius of Brescia has a parallel sentence, *Serm.* 19: *calcato mortis aculeo caelos uictor ascendens.*

The following passage from the *Commonitorium* of Vincentius of Lerins seems to me a possible quotation: "Beata igitur ac ueneranda, benedicta et sacrosancta, et omnino supernae illi angelorum laudationi comparanda confessio, quae unum Dominum Deum trina sanctificatione glorificat[4]." The words imply more than a mere reference to the *Sanctus*; they imply that it was set in a *Confessio Trinitatis*, which was worthy to be called *Laus angelorum* and acknowledged one Lord God. One MS.

[1] The Irish and Milan versions in most MSS. add *dicentes* in this verse, probably a reminiscence of some such liturgical form.

[2] C. Weymann in *Rev. Bénéd.* 1894, p. 338.

[3] Gruber, *Studien zu Pacianus von Barcelona.*

[4] c. xvi. *ad fin.*

of the *Te Deum* at Rouen, *Cod.* 227 (A. 367), *saec.* xii., has the title *Laus angelorum*, and another, at S. John's Coll. Camb., *Cod.* C 15, *saec.* xii. has *Laus angelica.*

Since Paulinus corresponded with many friends in Gaul there is no difficulty in assuming that the hymn could be known at that date (*c.* 434) in Lerins.

Some sixty years later we find it mentioned in the Rule of Caesarius of Arles, which is said to have been written while he was Abbot of Lerins, before 502.

c. xxi. Perfectitis missis dicite matutinos directaneo: Exaltabo te Deus meus et rex meus. Deinde Confitemini. Inde Cantemus Domino, Lauda anima mea Dominum, Benedictionem, Laudate Dominum de caelis, Te Deum laudamus, Gloria in excelsis Deo: et capitellum.

A few years later it was quoted in a letter written by Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon, to Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, between 524 and 533[1]:

Sed in hymno quem omnis ecclesia toto orbe receptum canit, cotidie dicimus: *Tu es rex gloriae, Christus; tu Patri sempiternus es Filius;* et consequenter subiungit: *Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non horruisti uirginis uterum. Te ergo quaesumus tuis famulis subueni quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.* Et hic diligenter aduerte quod, cui superius confitemur: *Tu Patri sempiternus es Filius*, huic inferius supplicamus dicentes: *Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis subueni, quos praetioso sanguine redemisti*; quia adsumptus homo in Deum et homo factus est [et] Deus nunquam destitit esse Deus: sed per unitatem personae hominem Deum et Deum hominem confitemur.

This quotation is of the highest interest not only as proving how widely the hymn was used, but also as proving that the early Gallican text had the reading *suscepturus hominem.*

[1] *Mon. Germ. epp. aeui Merowingici*, t. III. p. 434, from *Cod. Colon.* (Darmstad. 2326, *saec.* vii.).

THE RHYTHM.

Before we can discuss the text we must turn our attention to the special kind of rhythmical prose known as *Cursus Leoninus* in which the *Te Deum* is written. The *Cursus Leoninus* grew by a long process out of the elaborate metrical prose affected by rhetoricians in the silver Latin period. Its cadences are governed by a method which takes no account of the quantity of syllables but regulates the rhythm by accent.

S. Cyprian's treatise 'On Mortality' may be quoted as a fine specimen of metrical prose, and it is interesting to quote a sentence, which, it is generally agreed, inspired the thought of verses 7—9 of the *Te Deum*.

de mortalitate c. xxvi.	*Te Deum.*
Illīc ăpōstŏlōrūm| glōrĭōs|ūs chŏrūs (3) ||	Te gloriosus **apóstolorum chórus** (5)
īllīc prŏphētārum ēxūl|tāntĭūm nŭmĕrûs (6) ||	Te prophetarum **laudábilis númerus** (t)
īllīc mārtўrum īnnŭmĕr|ābĭlīs pŏpŭlûs (6) ||	Te martyrum candidatus **laúdat exércitus** (t)
ōb cērtāmĭnĭs et pāssĭōnīs glōrĭam ēt uīctōrĭām cŏrŏnātūs (9) ||	

The style of this metrical prose was too artificial to last. In common talk accent, the raising and lowering of the voice, obscured the distinction of sounds in the syllables. For metrical endings were substituted less elaborate but not less musical cadences regulated by accent. The name of Pope Leo was attached to this new style of rhythmical prose by later grammarians. It began to come into use in the 4th century and was probably imported from the East. It was practised by

many writers of the 5th century in Gaul and Italy's Cassian, Salvian, Caesarius and Cassiodorus[1].

There were three ordinary forms of rhythmical endings in the *Cursus* which were known as:

cursus planus	´ ◡ ◡ ´ ◡	(pl)
cursus tardus	´ ◡ ◡ ´ ◡◡	(t)
cursus uelox	´ ◡ ◡ ◡◡ ´◡	(v)

Applying these tests to the Te Deum we find that the first 21 verses, with four exceptions, comply with the rules of the *Cursus*. Indeed the rhythm may be used as an independent argument to prove that the original hymn ended with verse 21. The four exceptions illustrate in an interesting way the transition from the metrical to the rhythmical style. The first corresponds exactly to the 5th of the metrical endings used e.g. by Cyprian:

v. 2. Te aeternum Patrem omnis tērră ŭenĕrātūr.

Meyer[2] has shown that this was allowed as a sixth form of the *Cursus*, but not till a much later time. Is it not likely that a writer of the 4th century, with the music of the old endings in his ears, would be likely to mix them with the new cadences? In this way we may explain the other three so-called exceptions. Taking this ending—térra uenerátur—as a guide I would accent them as follows:

3. Tibi omnes angeli, tibi caeli et uniuérsae potestátes.
7. Te gloriosus apóstolorum chórus.
11. Patrem imménsae maiestátis.

It is difficult in imagination to ignore the metrical value of syllables like the last of ūnĭuērsāe or the penul-

[1] For further information on the history of the *Cursus Leoninus* I may refer to my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 248. I am indebted to the learned researches of Dr Meyer, *Göttingsche gel. Anzeigen*, 1893, p. 1.

[2] *Göttingsche ge Anzeigen*, 1893, p. 25.

timate of ăpōstŏlōrūm. But I venture to think that it is more satisfactory to regard them as halting rhythms than to refuse to bring them into line at all, and say with Dr Meyer that the author was "certainly acquainted with the beautiful Christian Prose of the 4th to the 6th century, but only employed it when it went easily[1]."

Dr Meyer points out that the *Te Deum* is written in long lines which are each divided into two. "Long lines like these, whose two parts on the one hand by a somewhat different construction give room for variety, and on the other hand sound harmonious because prolonged to an equal extent, are remarkably adapted to the human voice, and have therefore been introduced everywhere for long poems consisting of equal lines[2]." This accounts for the similarity of the Epic poetry of all nations.

With the help of this suggestion I endeavoured to divide up the *Te Deum* into long lines, and found myself pulled up by the recurrence of shorter lines for which it was not easy to account. An idea then came into my mind that the hymn should be divided into three strophes of four lines each, each with a refrain introduced by some key-word such as (v. 4) *proclamant*, (v. 10) *confitetur*, (v. 20) *quaesumus*. I admit that this idea is personal and subjective. It is also open to the objection that the connexion between the two great divisions of the hymn is not so close as to require so elaborate a structural similarity. Some may feel that the similarity is external rather than real, and that the refrain of Strophe iii. (vv. 14—21), as being a prayer, is not really parallel to the acts of praise in the other strophes. The concluding refrain (vv. 20, 21), however, as a prayer is

[1] *Das Turiner Bruchstück* (Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen), 1903, Heft 2, p. 209.

[2] *ib.* p. 209.

precisely parallel to the conclusion of the *Gloria in excelsis*, a hymn of the same date, which has never been supposed to lose its unity because it concludes with a prayer for mercy. I venture, therefore, to print my arrangement as an additional note (p. cxxii.), if only for the sake of showing the rhythmical cadences. After all it is but carrying out one step further the division employed in the old Gregorian music, in which one melody was employed for the first thirteen verses, and another introduced with the words *Tu rex gloriae*, which is continued down to the end of verse 20, and in verse 21 is completed with a regular cadence, so that the old music points to the fact that the hymn ended at this point[1]. The relation between the musical *cursus* of the old Gregorian music and the literary *cursus* in ecclesiastical Latin has still to be worked out.

THE TEXT.

The number of early MSS. of the *Te Deum* is considerable, but it is easy to classify them. There are three distinct versions of the Latin text which do not differ to any marked extent as to the hymn proper, but show great variety in the number and arrangement of the antiphons, or versicles following. They are known as the Ordinary, the Irish, and the Milan Versions. There is also a Greek Version, which must be discussed separately.

[1] See Appendix to art. *Te Deum* in Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*, by W. J. Birkbeck. The music of verse 21 "is in the form of an antiphon of the fourth mode, and stands in the same relation to the previous seven verses as an ordinary antiphon might to its Psalm, bringing it to a complete close with a regular cadence ending upon the final of the mode."

It may suffice to quote for the Ordinary Version the following MSS.:

A = Cod. Vatic. Reg. 11. *Saec.* vii.
C = Cod. Vindob. 1861. *Saec.* viii.
E = Cod. Cantabrig. LL. 1. 10. *Saec.* viii., ix.
V = Cod. Vatic. 84. *Saec.* x.

The first of these, A, is the famous Vatican Psalter, which belonged to Queen Christina of Sweden. It has a unique set of antiphons, on account of which I formerly classed it with the Milan Version, but its text of the hymn belongs to the Ordinary Version.

My second MS., C, which may be connected, as I have shown p. xcix., with a MS. of Leidrad of Lyons, represents the Gallican text of the 8th century. It was probably prepared by order of Charles the Great for Pope Hadrian.

My third MS., E, has recently been edited by Dom A. B. Kuypers as *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, commonly called The Book of Cerne*[1]. Aedeluald was Bishop of Lichfield *c.* 818. The MS., therefore, represents the text used in Mercia at the beginning of the 9th century.

My fourth MS., V, is a Roman Psalter, containing some Gallican readings. The Psalms are preceded by a variety of documents, including writings of Jerome, Damasus, Augustine, Basil[2].

The Irish Version has been found in some five MSS.:

A = *Cod. Ambros.* c. 5 inf. *Saec.* vii.
D = Trin. Coll. Dubl. *Cod.* E. 4. 2, *Liber Hymnorum*. *Saec.* xi.
F = Franciscan Convent, Dublin, „ „ *Saec.* xi.
H = Brit. Mus. Harl. 7653. *Saec.* ix.
T = Turin *Cod.* F. iv. 1. *Saec.* vii.

[1] Cambridge, 1902.
[2] It is described by Ommanney, *Dissertation on Ath. Creed*, p. 151.

A is the famous Bangor Antiphonary, now at the Ambrosian Library, Milan[1]. F and D are MSS. of the Irish Book of Hymns, edited by Dr Bernard for the Bradshaw Society. H appears to be the work of an Irish nun[2], and contains the text of the hymn only, without antiphons. T is a fragment recently found at Turin and edited by Dr Meyer[3].

The Milan Version is known to exist in three MSS.:

V = Cod. Vatic. 82. *Saec.* x.
m = Cod. lat. Monacensis 343. *Saec.* x.
M = Cathedral Breviary. *Saec.* xi.

The Vatican MS. (V) is an early Psalter, possibly Old Latin, which contains the *Te Deum* in the series of canticles used in the Church of Milan[4]. The Munich MS. (*m*) is a Psalter which is on the whole more Roman than Gallican, and is said to come from Milan or Monza. The Milan Cathedral Breviary (M) I know only through the Bishop of Salisbury's article[5].

Our debt to the Irish Version, which has preserved the author's name, and in one MS. (H) points to the limits of the original hymn, does not bind us to regard it as necessarily the purest text. Its corruptions however are easily explained.

Verse 4. Most MSS. of the Irish Version and all of the Milan Version add *dicentes*. This is probably a reminiscence of the Preface to the *Sanctus* in the Liturgy. But Meyer[6] notes that it is found in the text

[1] Ed. Warren, *Bradshaw Society*, Vols. IV. and X.
[2] I use Dr Bernard's collation.
[3] *Das Turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*, Göttingen, 1903.
[4] See p. xcv.
[5] Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 1120.
[6] *Art. cit.* p. 200, n.

of Is. vi. 3 used by Vigilius of Thapsus. The variant readings of that verse of Isaiah account also for the variations in the text of the 6th verse of the *Te Deum.* The Irish text has: "Pleni sunt caeli et *uniuersa* terra *honore* gloriae tuae." The other texts omit *uniuersa* and read "maiestatis gloriae tuae" (Ord.), or "gloriae maiestatis tuae" (Milan). If the Ordinary Version is based on the Old Gallican, these readings correspond to the readings of Is. vi. 3 given by S. Hilary (of Poictiers) and S. Ambrose. Hilary..."pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua." Ambrose *de Sp. s.* iii. 22: "plena est uniuersa terra maiestatis eius." Bishop Wordsworth[1] suggests that *gloriae* stood alone in the original text of the *Te Deum*, but there is an early Gallican parallel for the double phrase *maiestatis gloriae* in a sermon of Hilary of Arles[2], which supports the suggestion that Niceta may have thought of the same expression. The Irish reading *honore* may be explained by the presence of the word *honor* in the Spanish form of the *Gloria Patri*, which is found in the Bangor Antiphonary, and was therefore known to the Celtic Church. A scribe might introduce it as an improvement on *maiestatis*, and might with the same object add *uniuersa.*

In verse 12 the Irish Version and the oldest MS. of the Milan Version (*Cod. Vatic.* 82) have preserved the true reading *unigenitum.* This is a case in which copyists would be likely to substitute *unicum*, the more common reading of the Apostles' Creed, in which *unigenitum* is rare. The Creed of Niceta himself had neither, but the Creed of Cyprian of Toulon had

[1] *The Te Deum*, p. 26.

[2] *In depositione Honorati*: "Nec facile tam exerte, tam lucide quisquam de diuinitatis Trinitate disseruit cum eam personis distingueres et gloriae aeternitate ac maiestate sociares."

unigenitum[1]. The rhythm is decisive in favour of *unigénitum Fílium* (t).

The readings of verse 16 have been much discussed, and many critics favour the reading of the Irish Version: "Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem." It was suggested by Bishop Lightfoot that *mundum* dropped out through *homoeoteleuton*. This is possible, but it is also possible that it was added by an Irish scribe who was familiar with the phrase *saluator mundi*, which comes at the end of a prayer immediately preceding the *Te Deum* in the newly discovered Turin MS. It is even more difficult to decide between the readings *suscepisti* and *suscepturus*. Bishop Wordsworth thinks that "the former is more in the general abrupt style of the hymn, the latter reads like a corrector's refinement[2]." Its attestation however by Cyprian of Toulon, and by MSS. known to Hincmar of Rheims (9th cent.) and Abbo of Fleury (10th cent.), proves that *suscepturus* was an old and well-supported reading. Some MSS. omit the word altogether. This may be explained by the fear of Nestorianism which created a prejudice against such a phrase as *suscipere hominem*[3] lest it should be misin-

[1] We find *unigenitum* also in the creeds of Auxentius of Milan, Phoebadius of Agen, *Sacr. Gallic.* A, *Miss. Gallic.*, Theodulf, Honorius of Autun, and the creed of Jacobi's MS. (Hahn[3] p. 64). Thus in the Apostles' Creed it was a Gallican reading, and from Gaul passed into Old English Creeds. Cf. Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 93 ff.

[2] Bishop Wordsworth, *The Te Deum*, p. 16. He explains by the fear of Nestorianism the omission of *mundum* from the other texts, and the inexact rendering in the Prayer-book: "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man."

[3] There is no lack, however, of evidence to prove that the phrase was freely used before the rise of Nestorianism. Cf. S. Jerome, *Tractatus* (ed. Morin) ii. p. 151, 10; p. 181, 11; Leporius in his retractation of errors similar to that of Nestorius was allowed to write *dignanter hominem suscipiendo* (Migne, *P. L.* 31, 1225 d).

terpreted 'to take up *a man,*' not *manhood.* Bishop Wordsworth renders the line: "Thou tookest (*or* Thou wert about to take) man upon Thee to deliver (him)." He adds: "The construction is harsh without *mundum*, but it may be so rendered without great violence to the Latin idiom."

Dr Meyer[1] urges with much force that the words *in gloria patris* should be taken with the words which follow rather than with those which precede, as being a quotation of Matt. xvi. 27: "filius hominis uenturus est in gloria patris."

Tu ad dexteram Dei sedens in gloria Patris iudex crederis **ésse uentúrus** (t)

The *Te Deum* is full of Scriptural phrases, *rex gloriae*, *mortis aculeo* etc., and there is a parallel in the *de symbolo* c. 6, where Niceta writes: "ueniet cum angelis et uirtutibus eorum iudicare," with which we may compare Marc. xiii. 26: "filium hominis uenientem in nubibus cum *uirtute* multa et gloria[2]."

I have come to the conclusion that the *sedens* of the Irish text is probably correct, corresponding as it does to the participles *suscepturus* and *deuicto* in the first halves of other lines of this strophe.

In verse 20 one MS. of the Milan Version (*Cod. lat. Monac.* 343) and some six or seven MSS. of the Ordinary Version add *sancte* after *ergo.* In the Milan Breviary it is added after *quaesumus.* Dr Gibson[3] traces the reading to the influence of an ancient Sunday morning hymn, *O rex aeterne*, the last stanza of which begins, *Te ergo sancte quaesumus.* In the Munich MS. referred to,

[1] *Art. cit.* p. 210.

[2] The Creed of Niceta does not contain *in gloria*, so it is not much to the point to quote, as Meyer does, the Eastern Creeds, which add ἐν δόξῃ (μετὰ δόξης, ἐνδόξως) in the article on the Judgment.

[3] *Art. cit.*

which I found after Dr Gibson's article was written, that hymn follows the *Te Deum*.

In verse 21 *gloria munerari* is the reading of all the MSS. but has been changed into *gloria numerari* in some printed editions of the Breviary from 1491 onwards[1]. This was probably not a printer's error in the first instance but an attempt at textual criticism, suggested by the familiar words of the Canon of the Mass: "in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari[2]." The idea of *munerari* may have been suggested by Cyprian's word *remunerati* at the end of the passage which suggested phrases of verses 7–9, but the idea was not an uncommon one. S. Ambrose *de Spiritu sancto* i. 7 writes: "Praefulget enim gratia diei iudicii ut sequatur absolutio quae sanctorum remuneretur obsequium." In spite of Dr Meyer's argument I think that the ablatives *aeterna gloria* are better than the accusatives *aeternam gloriam*.

It is not easy to account for the different combinations of antiphons which have been added to the hymn. The Irish Version alone prefixes a verse of Ps. cxii. 1: "Laudate pueri Dominum laudate nomen Domini." All three versions however add them from the following sources:

Ordinary Version	Vv. 22, 23	= *Ps.* xxviii. 10.
	24, 25	= *Ps.* cxlv. 2.
	26	= One of the *preces* of the Daily Office.
	27	= *Ps.* cxxiii. 3.
	28	= *Ps.* xxxiii. 22.
	29	= *Ps.* xxxi. 1 (or lxxi. 1).
Milan Version Add. verse	*	= Dan. iii. 26, 52.

[1] It may be pointed out as a curious coincidence that the text of Vergil *Aen.* VIII. 519 varies between *nomine* and *munere*, the substantives connected with the verbs in question.

[2] Gibson, *Art. cit.*

The arrangement of these verses in the different versions may be expressed in tabular form. I include with them the *Gloria in excelsis* from which some of them have been taken.

O = Ordinary Version.
A = *Cod. Vatic. Alex.* 11.
I = Irish Version in the Bangor Antiphonary (*Cod. Ambros.* c. 5 *inf.*).
M = Milan Version in *Cod. Vat.* 82.
G = The *Gloria in excelsis* (*Cod. Alexandrinus* and *Bangor Antiphonary*).

Verses						
22, 23	O	A	I		24, 25	M
24, 25	O		I	G	22, 23	M
		*			*	M
26, 27	O	A		G		
				*		
28	O		I			
29	O					

The simplest explanation of the enlargement in O seems to be that Ps. xxviii. 10 (= vv. 22, 23) was the *capitellum* appointed for the *Te Deum* in the Gallican Church. On the other hand Ps. cxlv. 2 (= vv. 24, 25) was the *capitellum* for the *Gloria in excelsis*, and it heads the series of *capitella* in each of the three Irish texts of the *Gloria* printed by Mr Warren, among which Ps. xxviii. 10 is not found.

Dr Gibson has suggested that the *capitellum* of the *Gloria*, expressly mentioned by Caesarius[1], was attached to the *Te Deum* when the *Gloria* was transferred from the Hour Office to the Liturgy. This would explain the double set of *capitella* in the Irish Version and the Ordinary Version (except *Cod. Vatic. Reg.* 11). But we now find from the Turin MS. that the *Te Deum* also was

added to the Liturgy for Easter Day, taking with it both *capitella*. Perhaps this was the occasion of further enlargement of the Irish text.

Thus the *Preces* verses 26 (ὕμνος ἑωθινός) and 27 (Ps. cxxiii.), which are found among the Antiphons of the *Gloria in excelsis* as among the *Preces* of the Daily Office, may have been added at this time.

That verse 28 (Ps. xxiii. 22) did not belong to the original hymn is hinted by the Amen which precedes it in the Bangor Antiphonary. It was used twice during the Fraction in the Celtic Liturgy.

Last of all was added verse 29 (Ps. xxxi. 4), which is found in the Bangor Antiphonary as the opening clause of a prayer after the *Gloria*. This offers an additional proof that the Ordinary Version is more closely connected with the Irish than the Milan Version.

The Milan Version inverts the order of verses—24, 25, 22, 23—and adds Dan. iii. 26, 52. It is not likely that this was the original text, but it shows how casually the antiphons were added.

We have yet to explain the unique text in *Cod. Vatic. Reg.* 11 which adds to its proper *capitellum* vv. 22, 23 another *capitellum* of the *Gloria*, Dan. iii. 26, 52 and the *preces* vv. 26, 27. May we regard this as a case of arrested development, as showing us the position of the Gallican text at the time when the Irish text had reached its full development (for the date of this MS. corresponds to the date of the Bangor Antiphonary and the Turin fragment) before the great influx of Irish missionaries brought back the enlarged Irish text to influence what we know as our Ordinary Version?

There is more than one Greek Version. The best is found in a series of quadruple Psalters, emanating from the school of S. Gall. They are now at S. Gall,

Bamberg, Cologne, Paris (from Tournai), and Essen. But this version is incomplete, ending with the 11th or 12th verse.

Another and inferior translation of the first 9 verses has been found in a MS. at Milan (*Cod. Ambros.* c. 13 inf.), *saec.* xv. I owe my collation to Dr G. Mercati.

A third rendering, also inferior to the first but complete, was published by Field at Cambridge in 1665. This appears to be the work of James Dupont, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Greek. I do not know whether he was dependent on his predecessors, Whitaker 1569, and Petley 1638. But I think that his version is worth printing as his book is scarce, and it is interesting to compare it with the other versions. Bishop Wordsworth writes of it as "naturally better than the Milan text, but inferior to the other. The article is not so exactly used. In verse 4 ἐκβοῶσιν is not so good as ἀνακράζουσιν, and in verse 6 μεγαλειότης is not so natural as μεγαλωσύνη[1]."

We need therefore concern ourselves only with the questions raised by the first version. Is it a fragment of an early translation of which we may hope to recover more? Or is it a fragment of an early Greek hymn of which the Latin Version is a translation? If it is taken from an early Greek hymn it must stand behind the passage quoted from Cyprian to which we referred as the source of verses 7–9. This is far less probable than the supposition that it is a translation from the Latin text. Moreover the form of *Sanctus* quoted in verses 5, 6 is Western not Eastern, which is probably a decisive argument in favour of an original Latin text. We simply cannot explain its incompleteness. In Bishop Wordsworth's words: "the peculiar form of verse 11 in

[1] *Art. cit.* p. 1126.

all three MSS. and of verse 12 in the S. Gall MS., and the absence of verse 13, betray an incompetent and bungling hand attempting to translate at a later date and dropping the attempt[1]." The translator of the Milan MS. also seems to have found the task too hard for him. But this was not the case with the writer of the S. Gall Version so far as it goes. We have no idea however whether any more of it ever existed and may some day come to light. Niceta himself was acquainted with Greek and was probably competent to make such a translation. But there is no evidence that his people in Remesiana would require it. I have therefore come to the conclusion that it probably comes from the pen of one of those *Fratres Hellenici*, an association of Greek-speaking monks, who kept up the knowledge of Greek at S. Gall. A Missal of the 10th century still preserved at S. Gall (*Cod.* 338) proves that the Creeds and the Lord's Prayer were sung there by these brethren in Greek[2].

Additional Note.

STROPHE I.

1. Te Deum laudamus	te Dóminum confitémur (v)
2. Te aeternum Patrem	omnis tērră uĕnĕrātūr (5)
3. Tibi omnes angeli	tibi caeli ét uniuérsae potestátes (5)
4. Tibi cherubin et seraphin	incessabili uóce proclámant: (pl)
5. *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*	*Dominus Déus sabáoth* (pl)
6. *Pleni sunt caeli et terra*	*maiestatis glóriae túae.* (pl)

[1] *Art. cit.* p. 1126.

[2] Caspari III. p. 475.

STROPHE II.

7. Te gloriosus	apóstolorum chórus (5)
8. Te prophetarum	laudábilis númerus (t)
9. Te martyrum candidatus	laúdat exércitus (t)
10. Te per orbem terrarum	sancta confitétur ecclésia: (t)

11. *Patrem inménsae maiestátis* (5)
12. *Venerandum tuum uerum unigénitum Fílium* (t)
13. *Sanctum quoque Paráclitum Spíritum.*

STROPHE III.

14, 15. Tu rex gloriae Christe	tu Patris sempitérnus es Fílius (t)
16. Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem	non horruisti uírginis úterum (t)
17. Tu deuicto mortis aculeo	aperuisti credentibus régna caelórum (pl)
18, 19. Tu ad dexteram Dei sedens	in gloria Patris iudex crederis ésse uentúrus: (pl)

20 *a.* *Te ergo quaesumus tuis fámulis súbueni* (t)
20 *b.* *Quos pretioso sánguine redemísti* (v)
21. *Aeterna fac cum sanctis glória munerári.* (v)

Capitellum (Ps. xxviii. 9).

22, 23. Saluum fac populum tuum Domine et benedic hereditati tuae, et rege eos et extolle illos usque in aeternum.

When the hymn is printed in three strophes it is seen clearly that there are three main divisions of thought.

Verses 1—6 record the hymn of praise which is ever ascending to God the Father from all things visible and invisible. It is strange that this part of the hymn should ever have been regarded as addressed to the Son. No reasonable explanation of the words *aeternum Patrem* in verse 2 can be offered in that case. The nearest parallel is the title of Christ in Is. ix. 6, LXX. *πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*, but no Latin writer has translated this by *aeternum Patrem.* An ancient hymn to Christ, *Christe rex caeli,*

which is moulded on the thought of the *Te Deum*, has been quoted in this connexion, but the line 'Thou Word of the eternal Father' shows what its author's interpretation of the phrase was. There is also a curious rendering of the *Te Deum* into Latin hexameters by Candidus, a monk of Fulda under Ratgar (802—817), which shows how *Patrem* was interpreted in the 9th century[1].

> Te ergo Deum laudamus te Dominumque fatemur
> Te genitorem perpetuum terra ueneratur.

In verses 7—13 the writer turns to the thought of the Kingdom of God upon earth, united in holy fellowship with the apostles, prophets, and martyrs of all ages of the Christian dispensation in the confession of the Blessed Trinity. Niceta did not limit the Communion of Saints to the Christian Church, since he included within its range Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament and also the Angels[2]. But the mention of Apostles before Prophets proves that his thought, like that of S. Cyprian from whom he has borrowed some phrases, is limited to the historical Church, and that the Prophets are Christian Prophets[3]. He substitutes, however, *exercitus* in verse 9 for Cyprian's *populus*. This may have been suggested by the word *numerus* which was often used of soldiers, and helps to explain the epithet *candidatus* "white-robed" which was "a military term for the picked troops who specially guarded the Emperor's person[4]." The people of Remesiana must often have seen the Emperor passing along the great

[1] *Mon. Hist. Poet. Lat. aeui Carolingi*, ed. Duemmler. I owe this reference to Dr Gibson.

[2] *De symbolo*, c. 10.

[3] Cp. *de Spiritu sancto*, c. 15: "Noui autem prophetae quid clamabunt?"

[4] Bp Wordsworth, *Te Deum*, p. 27.

highway, and it would appeal to them to think of the martyr spirit as qualifying for special service in the army of Christ. The summary of the Creed is parallel to the summary in *de symbolo* c. 8.

In verses 14—21 the thought is again narrowed from the circle of the universal Church to the limit of a single congregation, which thankfully adores the Saviour through whom this Revelation, this mystery, has been made known, pleading that by the mystery of His Incarnation, by His Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, they may be granted grace now and glory hereafter.

§ 8. *OPERA DVBIA.* I. *DE RATIONE PASCHAE.*

At the suggestion of Dom Morin, who most kindly gave me his own transcription of the most important MS., I am able to publish a new edition of a treatise *de ratione paschae*, which has some claim to be regarded as the lost treatise of Niceta *de agni paschalis uictima*. It was first published by Florez[1] among the works of Martin of Bracara, and has been reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*[2]. An independent edition was published in 1880 by B. Krusch in his Studies in Chronology[3]. He found it in two MSS., *Cod. Ambros.* H. 150 *Inf.*, and *Cod. Colon.* 83^{II}, and apparently did not discover that the latter MS. contains the recension which had been published under the name of Martin. He came upon it in the course of his researches into the history of the Easter controversy, and concluded that it was later than the forged Acts of Caesarea, which were much quoted in

[1] *España Sagrada*, Tom. xv. from a MS. of the Royal Library at Madrid and a MS. at Toledo.

[2] *P. L.* LXXII.

[3] *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1880.

the 6th century. He regarded the Milan MS. as containing a later recension of the text preserved in the Cologne MS. I agree with Dom Morin that this judgment should be reversed, that it is the Milan text which has all the marks of antiquity.

After much reflection I have determined to print the two forms on opposite pages, using Dom Morin's transcription of the Milan MS. for the earlier text, and Florez' edition for the text as edited by Martin of Bracara, quoting the more important readings of Krusch's Cologne MS.

The two MSS. are described by Dr Krusch as follows:

A = Cod. Ambrosianus H. 150 Inf. *Saec.* ix., from the Monastery of Bobbio. It contains a series of chronological treatises, among which this *Tractatus Adthanasi* appears between the Easter Table of Victorius of Aquitaine and the Easter Table of the 84 years cycle.

C = Cod. Coloniensis 83[II]. (Darmstad. 2084) written under Archbishop Hildebald of Cologne (†819). It contains a variety of treatises mostly of a chronological character, beginning with the preface of Jerome to his Chronicle. The *Tractatus Athanasii*, without title, follows the work of Ps.-Anatholius, and is followed by a complete *Computus* of the 84 years cycle.

Krusch[1] assigns to this treatise a foremost place in the literature of the spurious writings on Easter. Where other writers were content to shroud their thoughts in obscure phrases, or to write down nonsense, in the hope that the name of the Saint at the head of their writing would protect them from criticism, the following treatise is clear, simple and intelligible. The object is stated by the author at the end. He had found in an ancient table (pinax[2]) the direction that the Easter Festival should not be celebrated before the 22nd of March or

[1] p. 329.

[2] Krusch says that this name was often given to Easter writings.

after the 21st of April. The sentence in question is found in the spurious Acts of the Council of Caesarea, which are also quoted (according to Krusch) at the beginning of our treatise. He therefore concluded that the treatise of Ps.-Athanasius belongs to a later time than these Acts; further that it was written in Britain, because its Easter canons are based on the 84 years cycle, and its author (like British writers on Easter of the 6th and 7th centuries) quotes one of the Old Latin Versions of the Bible, not the Vulgate. Krusch adds however that Bede, who used nearly all the spurious *Paschalia*, does not quote this.

It was to be expected that Krusch should draw from these premises the conclusion that the Cologne MS. represented the earlier form of text. But the whole argument falls to pieces if it be conceded that the sentence from the old Table, about the limits within which Easter might be kept, could be earlier than the Acts of Caesarea. This is not difficult to prove. There is no question that Martin of Bracara had to do with the recension published under his name as editor if not author, and he died in 580, so that his treatise is contemporary with the Acts and must be dependent as regards the common sentence upon an earlier document.

Krusch thinks that there is another sentence which proves quotation from the Acts, but his reasoning is not conclusive. The subject is the same and therefore there is some similarity of expression. The question raised is, how to deal with men who objected to reckoning the date of Easter by the moon, like the Jews, and wished to have a fixed date, March 25, like the date fixed for the celebration of Christmas. Epiphanius records that this custom prevailed in Cappadocia. (*Haer. L.* Epiph. *Op.* ed. Dindorf, II. 447.)

Acta Concil. Caes. (Recens. A) § 1.	C.	A
nam et omnes Gallii unum diem anniuersarium . viii. k̄ apr̄. pascha tenebant, dicentes, quid nobis est necesse ad lunae compotum cum Iudaeis facere pascha, ut...quocumque die uenerit...viii kł aprł, quando resurrectio traditur Christi, debemus tenere pascha?	Scio *autem* multos scrupulosius interrogare solitos, quare secundum morem Iudaeorum ad lunae conputationem diuersis temporibus pascha celebremus, dicentes rectius sibi uideri, ut si dominicae passionis commemoratio agatur, unum anniuersarium natalem diem obseruemus *sicut a plerisque Gallicanis episcopis usque ante non multum temporis custoditum est*, ut semper viii. kalendarum aprilium diem paschae celebrauerimus in quo die facta resurrectio Christi traditur.	Scio multos scrupulosius interrogare solitos, quare secundum morem Iudaeorum ad lunae conparationem diuersis temporibus paschale celebremus, dicentes rectius uideri, ut si commemoratio sit dominicae passionis, unus anniuersarius natalis dies in obseruatione teneatur ∴ ut semper viii kalendarum aprilium diem paschae celebrarent, in quo die Christi resurrectio traderetur.

Krusch seeks another hint of the priority of C in the fact that A adds a passage of Scripture at the beginning and a devotional exposition at the end. But this tells in the opposite direction. It was customary to quote a passage of Scripture at the head of a discourse in the 4th century. We may compare the sermons of Gaudentius of Brescia on this same passage. The author of the *de pascha* moreover uses an Old Latin translation, which certainly proves that he lived before the 7th century, when according to Krusch's hypothesis this recension was made. Moreover the devotional exposition in A finds a parallel in Niceta's *de diuersis appellationibus*.

The interest of the editor of C is chronological rather

than devotional. This comes out in his concluding sentence: "Cuius pinnacis constituendi quae fuerit ratio, ut mediocritas nostra potuit, ediximus per gloriam saluatoris Christi, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum." Further it may be noted that this is the Spanish form of the *Gloria*.

There is one passage which may be noted where Martin's *de corr. rusticorum* is dependent on the *de pascha*.

de pascha.	*de corr. rustic.*
VIII enim (MS. autem) kal. April. aequalis est nox et dies, sicuti factum mundi initium Genesis docet, dicens: *Diuisit deus inter lucem et tenebras, et uocauit lucem diem et tenebras uocauit noctem.*	Nam sicut scriptum dicit VIII kal. Aprilis in ipso aequinoctio initium primi anni est factum. Nam sic legitur: *diuisit deus* inter lucem et tenebras;
Omnis autem diuisio aequalitatem habet; ita in quo aequalitatem noctis et diei inuenimus, in eo initium mundi constitutum intelligamus.	omnis autem recta diuisio aequalitatem habet, sicut et in VIII kal. Aprilis tantum spatium horarum dies habet, quantum et nox.

Martin had a right to repeat himself, so this does not prove that he did not write the *de pascha*, but it certainly confirms the suggestion that he had to do with it as author or editor.

Caspari[1] upholds against Gams[2] the theory that Martin of Bracara wrote the *de pascha*, on three grounds. (i) The treatise bears Martin's name. (ii) It is easy to understand how Martin as metropolitan came to write it. (iii) One passage is an enlargement of a passage in the *de correctione rusticorum*. To these I may reply (i) that I do not question that Martin was the editor of the recension in the Cologne MS. which has been published

[1] *Martinus von Bracara*, p. xlvii.
[2] *Kirchengesch. Spaniens*, II. p. 473.

under his name; (ii) that his work as metropolitan in settling difficult questions of this kind might be as well fulfilled by editing an older treatise as by composing a new one; (iii) that the relationship of the two passages may be the reverse of that suggested by Caspari, and the passage in *de corr. rustic.* dependent on the other.

There is no question that Martin derived his Canons from Eastern sources and adapted them to the needs of his time. There was no reason why he should not do the same thing in dealing with a chronological question, on which there was more light to be found in the 4th century than in the 6th.

Loofs[1] has suggested that the form of Creed which Martin quoted in his *de correctione rusticorum*, agreeing with the Creed of Niceta in the use of the rare phrase *resurrexit uiuus*, was brought from Pannonia. This seems probable, and I may point out that immediately before these words is a phrase about Pontius Pilate, "illo tempore prouinciae Syriae praesidebat," which reminds one of the following sentence in Niceta *de symbolo* 5: "Tempus designatur quo Pontius Pilatus praeses fuit Syriae et Palestinae."

On the whole the evidence goes to prove that Martin edited an earlier treatise. Can we connect this with the writings of Niceta?

In the first place we have no right to any *a priori* theories as to the subject-matter of the lost treatise *de agni paschalis uictima*. Braida's speculation[2] that it dealt with the Sacrament of the Eucharist is baseless.

On the other hand there are several phrases which remind us forcibly of Niceta's style.

[1] *Symbolik*, 1902, p. 40.
[2] Diss. in Migne, *P. L.* LII. p. 1054.

p. 2. 2. Scio multos scrupulosius interrogare solitos. Cf. *de psalm. bono* 2: Scio nonnullos non solum...and *de Sp. s.* 3: scrupulosa collectio.

p. 2. 10. inquirentibus curiose. Cf. *de Sp. s.* 1 : ratio a nobis inquiritur; *ib.* 2 Macedoniani uel eorum in hac curiositate participes.

p. 2. 11. quid maiores nostri secuti exponam. Cf. *de Sp. s.* 1: pro captu mentis exponam.

p. 11. 14. Stare ergo nos in procinctu oportet. Cf. *de psalm. bono*: Apta est oratio militi quando stat in procinctu.

It may be pointed out further that the general argument is parallel to that of Hilarian who wrote c. 397. A similar conclusion that Easter must be celebrated during the month following the equinox, that is between March 20 and April 19, was the conclusion of S. Ambrose[1] when he wrote to the Bishops of Aemilia in 386 about the date of Easter in 387. There seems to have been considerable doubt that year as to the date of Easter, and that was very probably the date of this treatise, whether it be ascribed to Niceta or not.

§ 9. *OPERA DVBIA.* II. *DE LAPSV VIRGINIS.*

Among the treatises of Niceta Gennadius mentions one as follows: *Edidit et ad lapsam uirginem libellum omnibus labentibus emendationis incentiuum.* This has been identified by some critics with a *Liber de lapsu uirginis* which has been preserved under the names of Niceta, Ambrose and Jerome. In the oldest MS. (MS. d'Épinal 68, written between 622 and 744) it bears the title *Epistula Nicetae episcopi de lapsu Susannae deuotae et cuiusdam lectoris.* There is also a curious colophon

[1] *Ep.* 23, § 16: "Inde maxime intra hos triginta et unum dies saepe caelebratur Paschae dies."

to the effect that S. Ambrose had corrected the text when it had been corrupted by unskilled writers. Dom Morin[1] says well that if this sort of colophon deserved any credit it would prove that Ambrose understood better how to edit his own works than to correct those of his neighbours. Probably it represents an attempt to reconcile the testimony of Gennadius with the testimony of MSS. which ascribed the treatise to S. Ambrose.

In the 16th century Erasmus affirmed that it was the work neither of Ambrose nor Jerome. In 1672 J. B. Cotelier[2] suggested that it might belong to Niceta; but as none of Niceta's works were yet known, the suggestion was not taken up till 1803 when Zabeo accepted it and endeavoured to explain the difference in style between this treatise and the *de symbolo*. But the Maurist editors of S. Ambrose left the treatise provisionally among his works with an excellent preface in which they stated their conclusion that there was no serious argument which forbade the attribution to Ambrose.

Dom Morin, who has given careful consideration to the question, points out that this is not to say that the differences between the style of this treatise and other works of Ambrose are imaginary. He compares two other treatises which show the same signs of inferiority, the *explanatio symboli ad initiandos* and the *de sacramentis*. In their extant form they probably represent the notes which some hearer took of extemporary discourses of S. Ambrose. Something of the same sort may have happened in the case of the *de lapsu uirginis*.

I have no right to give an opinion on the style of

[1] *Rev. Bén.* 1897, p. 194.

[2] In his notes on the Apostolic Constitutions II. 57 (Migne, *P. Gr.* I. 735–7, note 57).

S. Ambrose, but I think that Dom Morin in his argument somewhat minimises the importance of the title in the Épinal MS. Surely it is less probable that a copyist in the 7th century would label an anonymous treatise by the name of Niceta, which by that time was almost forgotten, than that he would hand down what he had found in an earlier MS. Still less would he be likely to substitute Niceta for Ambrose. But if he copied it from an earlier MS. this brings us very near to the times of Niceta, and all Zabeo's arguments hold good to explain the difference in style between this treatise and Niceta's sermon *de symbolo*. But there is no very cogent argument to be derived from internal evidence. We cannot prove positively that it comes from his pen. I am therefore content to print it among *opera dubia*, together with another treatise which Dom Morin has brought forward as a possible claimant for this place among Niceta's works. It will be convenient to distinguish them as (A) Ps.-Ambrosius *de lapsu uirginis*, and (B) Epistula MS. Corbeiensis.

(A) *Ps.-Ambrosius de lapsu uirginis.*

A = MS. d'Autun 17 A, *saec.* x., contains a collection of letters and works of S. Jerome.

E = MS. d'Épinal 68, a semi-uncial MS. from Murbach Abbey, written between 622 and 744. It contains a collection of S. Jerome's letters.

m = Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XVI. *opp.* S. Ambrosii.

There is another MS. at Einsiedeln (*Cod.* 186, *saec.* xi.), which contains a text agreeing with that of the Épinal MS., including the colophon ascribed to S. Ambrose. And there are many MSS. which agree generally with the text given in Migne; e.g. under the name of Ambrose Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 4. 31, *saec.* xii., and B. 4, 30, *saec.*

xi., xii.; MS. de Chartres 172, *saec.* xii.; under the name of Jerome *Cod. Cantabrig.* Kk. iii. 24, *saec.* xii.

The argument of the discourse is as follows. A consecrated virgin, by name Susanna, had been seduced by a man who held the office of *lector.* The writer laments the stain which is thus inflicted on the Church. He appeals to her to remember the dignity of her calling and realise the gravity of her sin. He deals with excuses, (i) overwhelming temptation (Non potest caro corrumpi nisi mens fuerit ante corrupta); (ii) violence, but her cries could have been heard. He laments with her relations and reminds her of the day of her consecration. Surely the remembrance of holy services should have deterred her. He desires to help her. God does not desire the death of a sinner. Penitence is to be expressed not in words but in deeds. Then he turns to her seducer and tries to rouse him to repentance by remembrance of Scriptural warnings, the fate of Belthasar, of Sodom, in view of the Judgment Day. He ends with an exhortation to repentance, specially suggesting the daily use of the 51st Psalm.

It only remains to point out that the latter part (*c.* 43 *ad fin.*) corresponds very well to Gennadius' description *omnibus labentibus emendationis incentiuum.*

(B) *Epistula Corbeiensis.*

B. N. Paris. lat. 12097 (semi-uncial), *saec.* vi.

On fol. 179 is found INCIPIT EPISTVLA AD VIRGINEM LAPSAM. This letter was first published by Dom Morin[1], and I cannot do better than quote his description.

It differs in more than one respect from the *De lapsu uirginis* of S. Ambrose. First, it is certainly a letter, not an extemporary

[1] *Rev. Bén.* 1897, p. 198.

discourse, which we have under our eyes. The style is much fuller, the tone calmer, the language less impassioned. No more does the case appear to have been the same. There is no question of seduction, of guilty shifts which excite righteous indignation. A consecrated virgin has simply ended by preferring the state of matrimony to that to which she was at first pledged. Knowing well that she would have to reckon with vigorous opposition from the ecclesiastical authorities, she has sought to make her position regular by addressing a petition to a *persona regalis.* But he to whom she had recourse having just died, she prepares to make fresh representations to the *augusti principes.* Then her spiritual "father," "the bishop by whose ministry she had been betrothed to Christ," addresses to her this touching remonstrance in order to recall her to remembrance of her solemn vows.

To which epoch does this little treatise point? The style proves that it belongs to the golden age of Latin ecclesiastical literature. The curious allusion to the death of this monarch, succeeded by princes, seems to bring us to the period of the 17th of January, 395, the date of the death of Theodosius the Great, the last Emperor who ruled over the whole Roman empire. After him his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, divided the sovereignty....

Here, unfortunately, the internal evidence does not help us to raise the veil of anonymity. Niceta was not in the habit of repeating himself, like so many other ecclesiastical writers otherwise more celebrated than himself: it is very difficult to prepare a list of his characteristic phrases. All that can be affirmed is that when this Letter to the fallen Virgin is read after reading the writings which we already possess of the Bishop of Remesiana, none of the impressions are left on the mind by means of which an experienced critic guesses at once a difference of authorship.

The coincidence of the date 395 with the dates of other writings of Niceta is certainly remarkable, and several of the phrases are paralleled in those writings. It should be noted also that the letter is mutilated and begins in the middle of a sentence. On the whole it does not seem to answer so well as the other to the description given by Gennadius. Under these special circumstances the exhortation to repentance is not one

which many backsliders could take home to themselves as the exhortation certainly is in the other case. My feeling is therefore in favour of attributing the *De lapsu uirginis* to Niceta.

§ 10. CONCLUSION.

This survey of Niceta's life and times is of necessity incomplete. I trust that it will not be found, in any important detail, inaccurate. I do not doubt that further researches will be rewarded by the discovery of other MSS. Other editors will follow, but the present edition will have served its purpose as the *editio princeps* of Niceta's works under his name and as a complete collection, if it serves to stimulate interest in this forgotten 'Doctor of the Church.'

We have found Niceta worthy of the great reputation which he possessed in Western Christendom for more than a century. That he was so warmly welcomed by Paulinus of Nola, a saint who was a true scholar, proves the merit of his literary work no less than the sterling worth of his character and the affectionateness of his disposition. Whatever deduction criticism may claim the right to make from the portraiture of Niceta's character by his friend, on account of the inflated rhetoric of his style[1], there need be no hesitation in accepting the main outline as of value to supplement the self-revelation which these writings convey of mind and character.

There is the true love of a pastor in the earnest pleading with souls, which marks many passages in the

[1] I have pointed out (p. lviii.) that this is true rather of *Carm.* xxvii. than of *Carm.* xvii.

Instructions, and is intensified in the *Sermons* when he is dealing with somewhat stupid opposition to the practice of congregational singing. He was enthusiastic, and enthusiasm was needed by a missionary bishop who in that wild, mountainous region desired to reach the half savage Bessi in their remote villages, far from the great road which had brought commerce and civilisation to Remesiana. Nor was his enthusiasm damped by the troubles of times so disturbed. The influx of Gothic refugees only seems to have given it a new incentive, if we may understand the words of Paulinus concerning Gothic converts to refer to Gothic settlers in the neighbourhood. But his enthusiasm was held in check by a practical common sense. This comes out clearly in the warning against suspicion. Human nature is not stronger in this 20th century. It is just as difficult for us to change our impression of a good man if a bad character has been given him before we hear the truth[1].

He was reverent in dealing with holy things, and his reverence for the great truths of Revelation, upon which his faith rested, is no less clearly revealed in his instinctive shrinking from the tortuous arguments of controversialists, and unspiritual speculation in theology. Do we not feel the force of his appeal: "O man that dost not yet know thyself, dost thou dare to measure the Divine attributes[2]?"

Again, we notice a touching humility when he begins his treatise on the Holy Spirit with the words *pro captu mentis exponam.* This was no form of words, since the treatise is the most elaborate, closely logical, and incisive in style of all his writings.

His chief work as a theologian lay in the domain of Pastoral Theology. He did not write any profound

[1] *de Sp. s.* I. [2] *de Rat. fidei*, I.

treatise on doctrine which may be compared to the work of S. Hilary *On the Trinity*. His strenuous life did not leave much time for prolonged studies. But he was well read, and there is a distinction of style about his writings which was remarked on both by Gennadius[1] and Cassiodorus[2]. His style is simple, his appeals are direct, but he rises at times to a more fervid eloquence, as in the peroration to the *Sermon on the Creed*[3], or the beautiful description of the poetry of the Psalms[4]. He had the pastoral instinct which he admired so greatly in S. Basil[5]. All theory was to be tested by practice. He cared more for deeds than words: "If thou art called a Christian and art not spiritual, be not too confident of thy salvation[6]." But he valued his Creed, when interpreted along Nicene lines as 'complete belief in the Trinity[7],' as the highest motive power of a moral life.

All his teaching was brought to the test of Holy Scripture. He commended their Baptismal Creed to his converts as a summary of scriptural teaching like a crown set with precious stones[8]. He laid stress on the fact that the Council of Nicaea took pains to search the Scriptures. He was loyal to the teaching of the Nicene Creed as expressing the truth of Scripture[9]. Having accepted the belief that the Son is 'of one substance with the Father,' he did not hesitate to follow out the line of argument and teach that the Holy Spirit also is 'of one substance with the Father.'

He avoided the common mistake of his age in

[1] p. 137 *infra*.
[2] p. 155 *infra*.
[3] p. 52 *infra*.
[4] *de ps. bono*, c. 5.
[5] *de uigiliis*, c. 9: inter pastores eximius.
[6] *de Sp. s.* 22.
[7] *de Sp. s.* 22: fides integra Trinitatis.
[8] *de Symb.* 13.
[9] *de fide* 3: (Nicaena synodus) ubi, omnibus collatis et decursis scripturis, ueritas manifestata est.

pressing the literal meaning of some obscure texts of Scripture into the support of doctrines with which they have nothing to do, so his arguments commend themselves to our minds as founded on valid premises. Dr Kunze[1] goes too far, I think, in commending him as 'no Roman-Western theologian' because he did not, like Rufinus, quote the legend of the Apostolic origin of the Creed. It is true that the contrast is marked between Niceta and a Western theologian of the 7th century like Ildefonsus of Toledo († 669), who borrowed largely from Niceta and added the legend[2]. In neither the 4th nor the 7th century had the Western Church a monopoly of legend. This particular legend came from the East, probably from Antioch[3], and was introduced by Rufinus into the West. As a matter of fact, although the trend of ecclesiastical affairs drew him into close relations with the Roman See, Niceta appears to have been indebted to Eastern writers, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Basil, and (of an earlier generation) S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, more than to Western writers of whom he only quotes S. Cyprian.

Duchesne[4] has pointed out that there is a difference between the theology of the East and the theology of the West, which can be traced back to the 4th century. In the West theologians cultivated the idea of Divine Unity and subordinated to it the idea of Triune Personality. Thus they regarded consubstantiality as the essence of the mystery of the Trinity, thinking of the Trinity, to use the technical phrase, as immanent. Eastern theologians starting from the thought of the oeconomic Trinity, manifested in the work of the Father,

[1] *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1896, p. 51.
[2] *de cognit. bapt.* c. 33. [3] Zahn, *Neue kirchl. Zeits.* VII. 2, p. 23.
[4] *Autonomies Ecclésiastiques*, *Égl. sep.* p. 83.

Son and Holy Spirit, taught first the doctrine of the eternal distinctions, and then sought to prove by metaphysical arguments that those distinctions were united in the One Being of God.

As far as I can judge, Niceta's teaching has points of contact rather with Western thinkers than with Eastern. He started from the idea of the Divine Consubstantiality, claiming the right of the Holy Spirit to full veneration and worship with the Father and the Son, as of one substance, power, and eternity. He used freely the word *persona*, from which S. Augustine was inclined to shrink. He argued by analogy from the mystery of human personality to the mystery of Divine Personality[1]. Thus he pointed in the direction in which S. Augustine, by his use of psychological illustrations, contributed most to the development of this doctrine in the West.

Niceta wrote of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father, but in his teaching of the 'oeconomic' Trinity he wrote of the Word creating and the Spirit[2], and again of the Spirit creating with the Father and the Son[3], just as S. Ambrose did in his treatise *On the Holy Spirit*[4], so that we feel that the dominant thought is of immanence of the Father and the Son in the Spirit, which is not far from the conclusion that He proceeds from the Father and the Son.

On the other hand S. Basil, safe-guarding the truth that there is one Fount of Deity, preferred to speak of the Father as cause in creation, of the Son as founder, of the Spirit as perfecter[5].

[1] *de fide*, c. I.

[2] *de Sp. s.* 8.

[3] *de Sp. s.* 18.

[4] *de Sp. s.* 38.

[5] Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με ἢ τρεῖς εἶναι λέγειν ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις, ἢ ἀτελῆ φάσκειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων μία, δι' Υἱοῦ δημιουργοῦσα, καὶ τελοῦσα ἐν Πνεύματι.

To speak generally, Niceta's theology followed the lines of the Creed, the Incarnation being for him the central doctrine. From Cyril he quoted the emphatic words: "If the Incarnation is untrue, untrue will be also the salvation of men[1]." On the Incarnation was based his teaching on the Atonement: "For Christ suffered also for our sin that righteousness might be given unto us[2]." He delighted to paint in vivid colours the contrasts between the successive acts of self-humiliation of the Incarnate Word of God from the cradle to the Cross, and the words and works of power which revealed His Glory and culminated in the Resurrection and Ascension. The climax of the *Te Deum* is throughout the lodestar of his teaching, as in the triumphant peroration of the *Sermon on the Creed*: "Sit animus semper in caelis, spes in resurrectione, desiderium in promissione[3]."

Enough has been said elsewhere[4] of Niceta's teaching on the Holy Spirit, but it remains to point out that we owe to him, if not the introduction of the words 'Communion of Saints' into the Creed, at least the first exposition of them. He shows no uncertainty as to the meaning. '*Sanctorum*' is for him masculine, and the Communion of Saints is the fellowship which unites the saints of all times in Christ, in whom we live ever more.

It would be easy to multiply quotations, but these may suffice to illustrate the message which Niceta brought to his own age. After centuries of oblivion it is not out of date. In every age such witness is needed to the truth that Christianity is more than a system of doctrine; it is a life, and the beauty of the life proves the

[1] *de Symb.* 18.
[2] *ib.* 5.
[3] *ib. ad fin.*
[4] p. lxiv.

truth of the doctrine. The history of the Arian controversy at the end of the 4th century is like a dark labyrinth; it is hard for the student of Church History to pick his way through the maze of competing formularies. To such an one the life of Niceta is like a short passage to light and liberty. He may go on his way rejoicing in the freedom which Niceta found in the service of truth, understanding more of the joyousness which he breathed into the great 'psalm of history,' which was his contribution to the worship of the Church.

We understand because we believe. Nothing has been more disastrous in the history of Christian doctrine than the writing of books, and they are many, which profess to discuss impartially beliefs most sacred to the Christian consciousness without that love of Divine things which is the key of knowledge. As Pascal says: "Il faut aimer les choses divines pour les connaître." As well might a man who has no music in his soul attempt, after conscientious study of musical primers, to explain some great symphony, as a critic, however well informed, explain the real meaning of the Nicene Creed without reference to the lives of those whose courage and constancy in suffering for it were sustained by the conviction that it was true. Only those whose lives are lives of faith and prayer can understand the persistency with which Niceta contended for doctrines which some were prepared to surrender then as some are now. We do not need to apologise for our faith. In such a life it commends itself.

Nor are such lives of the past alone. Not unworthy to compare with Niceta in our own time was the poet-bishop Heber of Calcutta, alike in wealth of literary gifts and in enthusiasm for missionary enterprise. Heber's

splendid hymn for Trinity Sunday, founded on the rhythm of the English Bible, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," is a proof that "the goodly fellowship of the prophets" is continued in every age in those whose eyes are open to see visions of God, and gain inspiration alike for their worship and for their work.

NOTE ON THE BIBLICAL TEXT USED BY NICETA

By F. C. Burkitt, M.A.

The Biblical text used by Niceta may be very briefly characterised as commonplace but interesting. It is textually commonplace: Niceta preserves no reading of importance that is not sufficiently attested elsewhere. Both in diction and in the underlying Greek text Niceta's quotations represent the sort of text generally current at the end of the 4th century in those centres which were in touch with Rome. But it is interesting just for this very reason. As nearly as any source known to us it represents the Latin Bible just before S. Jerome's revision.

Canon.—Niceta quotes from nearly all the divisions of the Latin Bible. In the N.T. he uses all the Canonical Books except Hebrews, Philemon, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude. The absence of Philemon is probably accidental, but Hebrews is too important a work to have been altogether passed over by Niceta, if he had received it as canonical. On this point we may believe that he adhered to ancient Latin exclusiveness. There is, however, a definite quotation from the Epistle of James (p. 78), so that possibly Niceta's Canon may have included all seven Catholic Epistles. On the same page (p. 78) is the solitary quotation from the Apocalypse.

Niceta is an assiduous quoter of the Psalms. It was doubtless from his Psalter that he quoted Exodus xv 1 and Isaiah xxvi 9, 19. But he quotes the Prophets very little,—one verse from Haggai, one from Isaiah, one from Jeremiah, and three from Daniel. Of these, the Isaiah verse is a verbally inaccurate allusion to liii 5, evidently from memory, and the Jeremiah verse is taken from Cyprian's much read treatise on the Lord's Prayer (*Hartel* 269), as is evident from the use of *adproximans* and *de longinquo*. The quotation from Susanna's prayer, Daniel xiii 42 (p. 28), is of textual interest, inasmuch as the whole prayer belongs to Theodotion's recension exclusively. Niceta therefore, as we should expect, used Theodotion's recension and not, like Victorinus of Pettau, the true unrevised LXX[1].

The paucity of Niceta's quotations from the Prophets shews us that he was not particularly given to independent Biblical study, and prepares us for the discovery that he often quoted his proof-texts from his predecessors, without always assimilating their text to the recension actually in use.

Latin Renderings.—The vocabulary of Niceta's quotations belongs to the most ordinary and commonplace style of Biblical Latin. His Latin Psalter seems to have been about half-way between the 'Gallican' and the 'Roman.' Thus in Ps xxxiii 9 he has *suauis* where Cyprian has *dulcis*, in Ps xlvi 8 he has *sapienter* where Augustine has *intelligenter*, in Ps cix 2 he has *scabellum* where Cyprian and the translator of Irenaeus have *suppedaneum*. In Ps lvii 7 Niceta supports *unanimes* for

[1] Dan xiii 42 is quoted by Hilary, Victor Vitensis, Vigilius (*c. Varimund.*), and Fulgentius. The absence of so favourite a verse from the early collections of *Testimonia* is in itself an indication that the true LXX and not Theodotion was in use in earlier times.

μονοτρόπους with all the old Psalters against the *unius modi* of Augustine and the *unius moris* of Paulinus, Cassiodorus, and the present Psalter; and similarly in Ps lxxvi 3 he has *coram eo* where the present Psalter has *contra eum*. In Ps xlix 23 *glorificabit* and *uia* (for *honorificabit* and *iter*) and in Ps cxviii 62 *iustitiae* (for *iustificationis*) Niceta sides with Augustine; while in Ps cxviii 55 for *memor fui* Niceta has *memoratus sum*, a rendering which actually is not reported in any other extant authority.

These variations are indeed trifling: in fact, the important thing is that they are trifling. They shew how uniform the text of the Latin Psalter had become by the end of the 4th century, at least in those circles which were in close touch with Rome. It is indeed what we might expect. A bishop of a newly evangelized country, like Niceta about 400 A.D. and like Ceolfrid about three hundred years later, will use the most Roman, the most up-to-date, text. He will not be hampered, as a bishop of Africa or Gaul would be, with a long established local use.

It is just the same with the Gospels. Niceta runs very much 'along the broad highway of the European text.' The few traces of the antiquated African text I take to be direct reminiscences of Cyprian. Thus the use of *nequam* for *mala* in Matt ix 4 (p. 28) shews us that Niceta has borrowed his text from S. Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer (*Hartel* 269), the same passage from which he has also taken his only quotation of Jeremiah, a few lines lower down. Similarly on p. 16 Niceta quotes Joh ii 19 followed by Joh x 18. The quotation of Joh ii 19 has rather an interesting text: *ego* is inserted after *et*, *in triduo* is read where the Vulgate has *in tribus diebus*, and *suscitabo* is read instead of *excitabo*.

The explanation is to be found in the fact that the same pair of verses are quoted by Novatian *de Trinitate* (ed. Jackson, p. 166) in a text which is word for word that of Niceta.

Of more interest is Niceta's reference to Lc x 42 (p. 82), where Mary is said to have chosen *bonam partem*. Here *bonam* is found in *e*, in *d*, in one Vulgate codex (Wordsworth's E), and in one quotation by Ambrose, but all other Latin authorities have *optimam*.

In some of the treatises, notably the *De Vigiliis*, reasonable doubt may be felt whether our MSS always transmit what Niceta wrote. The *De Vigiliis*, for instance, is extant in two forms. In the one, which is preserved in four MSS, the oldest being of the 7th century (B), it is given as a sermon of Niceta's; in the other, which is known to us only in a single MS of the 15th century (A), it is ascribed to S. Jerome. We do not expect textual purity from such a source as A, nor as a matter of fact do we find it. Yet A contains some obviously genuine passages which are absent from B and its followers, notably the references to the story of Eutychus (p. 63), the Old Latin language of which could not have been compiled in the middle ages. The true deduction from this state of things is not that A is uninterpolated, but that B and its friends represent a deliberately curtailed recension, a recension which is nevertheless free from not a few corruptions which have befallen A.

Illustrations of the textual superiority of B to A will be found in the long quotation from Lc xii 35—40 on p. 62, which I give below side by side with the Vulgate, as edited by Wordsworth and White.

k 2

Niceta, p. 62	*Vulgate*
35 Sint lumbi uestri	35 Sint lumbi uestri
praecincti et lucernae ardentes	praecincti et lucernae ardentes
[in manibus uestris]	
36 Et uos similes hominibus	36 et uos similes hominibus
exspectantibus dominum suum	expectantibus dominum suum
quando reuertatur a nuptiis.	quando reuertatur a nuptiis
	ut cum uenerit...aperiant ei.
37 Beati serui illi	37 Beati serui illi
quos cum uenerit dominus	quos cum uenerit dominus
inuenerit uigilantes.	inuenerit uigilantes
	amen dico...ministrabit illis.
38 Et si uespertina hora uenerit	38 et si uenerit in secunda uigilia
et si media nocte	et si in tertia uigilia uenerit
et si galli cantu	
et inuenerit eos uigilantes	et ita inuenerit
beati sunt.	beati sunt serui illi.
39 [Illud autem scitote	39 Hoc autem scitote
quia si sciret paterfamilias	quia si sciret paterfamilias
qua hora fur ueniret	qua hora fur ueniret
uigilaret utique et	uigilaret utique et
non sineret	non sineret
perfodi domum suam.]	perfodiri domum suam.
40 Itaque et uos estote parati	40 et uos estote parati
quia qua hora nescitis	quia qua hora non putatis
filius hominis	filius hominis
uenturus est.	uenit.

The passages in brackets are added by A only, and cannot be genuine parts of Niceta's text. They almost exactly agree with the mediaeval Vulgate, while the true text of Niceta is full of Old Latin renderings. In *v.* 35 *in manibus uestris* is current in most Vulgate codices from the 12th century onwards, not before; while *utique* in *v.* 39 is a definitely Vulgate reading, which is omitted by the Old Latin MSS *b c e ff i r* (hiat *a*).

The genuine part of this quotation illustrates very well the type of text used by Niceta. It shews his perfectly justifiable habit of abridgement in the omission (or rather non-quotation) of *v.* 36^{b}, *v.* 37^{b}, and we must add *v.* 39. It shews also his equally excusable inaccuracy: *media nocte* and *galli cantu* in *v.* 38 are really reminiscences of Mc xiii 35, and *nescitis* in *v.* 40 comes from the same source or from Matt xxiv 42. At the same time the genuine Old Latin element is quite strongly developed. The reminiscence of Mc xiii 35 would never have occurred, if Niceta's text had not spoken in Lc xii 38 of a *uespertina uigilia* with D 1&c *b c e ff i l r*, i.e. the whole array of Old Latin texts here extant. But the reading is only found in one Vulgate codex, the 'mixed' MS called E by Wordsworth. At the end of the same verse the omission by Niceta of *serui illi* is also attested by א* *b ff i l* and Irenaeus.

Thus there is reason to believe that the Gospel codex familiar to Niceta must have had a type of text not very much unlike *b* (Veronensis). There is no trace of what used to be called the 'Italian' type presented by *f* (Brixianus).

In the Pauline Epistles we meet with much the same state of things. The quotations of Niceta are definitely 'Old Latin,' i.e. they do not agree with the Vulgate, but otherwise they shew us very strongly developed characteristics. They do not agree markedly with *r* and Augustine, or with *d* and Lucifer, or with Ambrosiaster. In one or two cases it is possible that Niceta has quoted a text through the medium of another ecclesiastical writer. Thus in Col ii 8 (p. 19) *spoliet* and *deceptionem* are noteworthy renderings and Niceta may possibly be quoting the verse through S. Hilary. But the evidence is not sufficient to convict.

The quotations and allusions to the Acts are decidedly interesting. Here again Niceta agrees neither with the Vulgate nor with the 'African' text represented by Cod. Floriacensis (*h*), but with the 'European' texts represented by the Gigas (*g*) and the Perpignan text (*p*) edited by Berger. The nature of Niceta's text may best be shewn by quoting it in full side by side with the Vulgate, and giving the variants of *g* and of *p*, and where available that of Lucifer also and of the Speculum (*m*). I do not quote the Latin of Codex Bezae (*d*) or of Codex Laudianus (e_2), except occasionally, as these bilingual codices are full of peculiarities which never seem to have gained wider currency and to record such 'variants' in full only produces confusion.

Acts v 1—3

Niceta, p. 32	*Vulgate* (Cod. Am.)
Vendiderat *possessionem* Annanias,...suppressamque partem pecuniae dolosus discipulus sibi reseruauerat; reliquam pro tota *ante pedes* deposuit apostolorum......	1 Vir autem quidam nomine Ananias...uendidit agrum, 2 et fraudauit de pretio agri...et afferens partem quandam ad pedes apostolorum posuit.
	3 Dixit autem Petrus:
Annania, quare Satanas	Annania, cur temtauit
impleuit cor tuum	Satanas cor tuum
mentiri te Spiritui Sancto?	mentiri te Spiritui Sancto?

1 agrum] vg *g*; possessionem *p d* e_2 *Niceta*

2 ad pedes] vg *p*; ante pedes *g* e_2 *Niceta*; iuxta pedes *d*

3 cur] vg; quare e_2 *Niceta*; ut quid *g p d Lucif* temptauit (= *ἐπείρασεν*)] vg; impleuit (= *ἐπλήρωσεν*) e_2 *Cypr Niceta*, repleuit *g p Lucif*; adimpleuit *d* mentiri te] vg *d* (e_2) *Cypr* (*Lucif*) *Niceta*; ut mentireris *g p* aput Spir. Sanc. *Cypr solus*

Acts xiii 2, 4

Niceta, p. 31	*Vulgate* (Cod. Am.)
Et dicit Spiritus Sanctus,	2 dixit Spiritus Sanctus,
Segregate mihi Barnaban et Paulum	Segregate mihi Barnaban et Saulum
ad opus quod uocaui eos.	in opus quod adsumsi eos.
Et paulo post:	4 Et
Ipsi, inquit, *missi ab Spiritu Sancto*	ipsi quidem missi ab Spiritu Sancto
descenderunt Seleuciam.	abierunt Seleuciam.

2 Saulum] vg *g d* e_2 *Lucif*; Paulum *m*326 *p Niceta* ad opus *g Niceta* adsumsi] vg; uocaui (*g*) *m p d Lucif Niceta*
4 missi] vg *Niceta*; dimissi *g d Lucif*; emissi e_2; egressi *p* abierunt (=ἀπῆλθον)] vg; descenderunt (=κατῆλθον) *g d* e_2 *Lucif Niceta*; deuenerunt *p*

Acts xvi 25, 26

Niceta, p. 63	*Vulgate* (Cod. Am.)
Paulus et Sileas in custodia	25 Media autem nocte Paulus
publica *circa medium noctis*	et Silas adorantes Deum
hymnum audientibus *uinctis*	hymnum dicebant et audiebant
dixisse memorantur;	eos qui in custodia erant.
ubi *repente* terrae motu	26 subito uero terrae motus factus
concussis	est magnus, ita ut mouerentur
carceris fundamentis	fundamenta carceris
et ianuae sponte apertae	et aperta sunt statim ostia
et omnium uincula	omnia et uniuersorum uincula
sunt soluta.	soluta sunt.

25 media...nocte] vg e_2; circa medium noctis *Niceta*; circa...mediam noctem *d g Cypr Lucif* Silas] vg *d* e_2; Sileas *Cypr Lucif Niceta*, Syleas *g* qui in custodia erant] vg; uincti *d* e_2 *g Cypr Lucif* (*Niceta*)
26 subito] vg; repente *d* e_2 *Lucif Niceta*, de repente *g*

Niceta's reference to the story of Eutychus, Acts xx 7—11 (p. 63), is especially noteworthy for textual purposes. Our authorities here reduce themselves to *d* e_2 and *g*, and the text of Niceta is dependent on a single MS of the 15th century. I therefore give the text

Acts xx 7—11

g	*Niceta*, p. 63	*Vulgate* (Cod. Am.)
7 Paulus......	Idem beatus apostolus	7 Paulus......
alia die exiturus	a Troade *profecturus*	profecturus in crastinum
producebat uerbum	*sermonem ducebat*	protraxitque sermonem
usque ad mediam noctem.	*usque ad mediam noctem*,	usque in mediam noctem ;
8 Erat autem lanterne	accensis *lanternis* quam	8 erant autem lampadae (*sic*)
multe in cenaculo....	pluribus *in cenaculo.*	copiosae in cenaculo.
9 sedens autem quidam	ex qua *Eutycus adolescens*	9 sedens autem quidam
adolescens nomine		adulescens nomine
Euthicus supra fenestram		Eutychus super fenestram
pressus somno graui	*somno oppressus*	cum mergeretur
		somno graui
disputante Paulo prolixius	*disputante Paulo prolixius*	disputante diu Paulo
deductus a fenestra	*a fenestra deductus*	eductus somno
cecidit de tristego	*cecidit de tertio tecto*	cecidit de tertio
deorsum et	*et*	cenaculo deorsum et
sublatus est mortuus.	*sublatus est mortuus*:	sublatus est mortuus.
	quo statim reddito uitae	
11 satisque allocutus	*usque ad lucem*	11 satisque allocutus
usque ad lucem	*sermocinatus* Deo	usque ad lucem
profectus est.	gubernante *profectus est.*	sic profectus est.

of *g* in full, by which the reader will be able to see at once how much of the pre-Vulgate wording has been preserved.

Niceta's words are of course a paraphrase, but it is a paraphrase which follows very closely the Old Latin wording, and the agreement between the left-hand and the centre columns affords a very welcome demonstration of the substantial purity of the 13th century 'Gigas' and of the 15th century MS of Niceta.

On the Magnificat.—In conclusion a few remarks must be made upon the most important of all the variations attested by Niceta, *viz.* the substitution of *Elisabeth* for *Maria* in Lc i 46 (pp. 76, 79), whereby the *Magnificat* is assigned to the mother of John the Baptist instead of the Virgin Mary. The reading is already well known to textual critics, being found in *a b l* and also in Irenaeus 235. These authorities form a typical 'European' group, just the company with which we should expect to find Niceta in agreement. In strictness, therefore, Niceta does not add very much to the weight of evidence for the ascription to Elisabeth, except in so far as he shews that the tradition was more widespread and persistent at the end of the 4th century than we might otherwise have supposed. But I cannot help thinking that Niceta's authority may remove some of the more general objections to the unfamiliar reading. That the author of the *Te Deum* saw nothing incongruous in regarding the *Magnificat* as the utterance of Elisabeth shews that such an opinion is not incompatible with the strictest orthodoxy or with the fullest sense of the requirements of Christian worship.

I venture to think that Niceta was right in fact in ascribing the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth, but the textual evidence taken as a whole does not point to the genuine-

ness of either Ἐλεισάβετ or Μαριάμ in Lc i 46. 'Mary' was read by Tertullian as well as by all Greek and Syriac texts. This is fatal to 'Elisabeth'; yet if 'Mary' were genuine the actual occurrence of 'Elisabeth' in the European branch of the Old Latin would be inexplicable. But if the original text of the Gospel had *καὶ εἶπεν* Μεγαλύνει *κ.τ.λ.*, without either name, all the evidence falls into line. On the one hand many texts ascribed the Hymn to Mary on the ground of the supposed appropriateness of Lc. i 48 to the mother of our Lord. On the other the text which underlies the European Latin with greater literary tact perceived that the pronoun in Lc i 56 ('Mary remained with *her*') must refer to the person who utters the Hymn, and therefore that person must be Elisabeth. This point was evidently seized by the Syriac versions, for the Peshitta as well as the Sinai Palimpsest renders *ἔμεινεν δὲ* Μαριὰμ *σὺν αὐτῇ* by 'Now Mary remained *with Elisabeth*.' But the Greek of i 56 has retained the tell-tale *αὐτῇ*, a word which is enough, even without the evidence of Irenaeus and Niceta, to shew that S. Luke intended us to understand that the *Magnificat* was spoken by Elisabeth and not by Mary. I cannot help regarding the New Testament parallel to Hannah's Song as more appropriate in the mouth of the matron Elisabeth than in that of the Virgin Mary: the Λόγος *ἀπὸ* Σιγῆς *προελθών* more corresponds to the fitness of things than a burst of premature song.

F. C. BURKITT.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. On the Ascription of the Magnificat to S. Elizabeth

The attention recently drawn to the personality of Nicetas or Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana, and the observation that he was one of those few persons hitherto known to us who ascribed the Magnificat to S. Elizabeth, have naturally led to further enquiry as to the reading of the verse (S. Luke i. 46) by which the hymn is introduced.

I have for some time been of opinion that the best explanation of the various readings "Mary" and "Elizabeth" is that both are glosses, intended to clear up the sense of a phrase which some readers or scribes found ambiguous. The original reading then would have been simply *καὶ εἶπεν* "and (she) said," as in the best text of 1 Sam. ii. 1, where Hannah's name is to be supplied by the reader, Eli's being out of place, though grammatically perhaps more probable. This not only explains the variety of names, but is in accordance with the Old Testament style of parts of these early chapters. All careful readers of the Old Testament will have noticed the ambiguity caused by the frequent absence of exact designation of the speakers in a conversation either by their names or by the use of personal pronouns. In such cases the reader is supposed to use his intelligence in assigning the words to the proper characters.

If the reading then simply was *καὶ εἶπεν* Μεγαλύνει *ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν* Κύριον *κ.τ.λ.*, which of the two names

"Mary" or "Elizabeth" is to be supplied by the reader from the context?

I answer, without hesitation, "Mary": and I think it is plain that this was the inference of the great majority of the early readers of the Gospel, whose knowledge of the natural inferences from passages written in Biblical and particularly Hebraistic style was probably more instinctive than ours. Of course there is also the further strong probability that early readers and scribes had tradition to guide them as to the authorship of so remarkable a hymn.

Those who would read or gloss "Elizabeth" seem to me to have overlooked the fact that the whole passage, S. Luke i. 41—55, is the record of a conversation consisting of Mary's salutation, Elizabeth's eloquent address and question, and Mary's answer. Elizabeth's question is "and whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" followed by the words about the joy of her unborn babe and the ascription of "blessedness" to Mary (*μακαρία ἡ πιστεύσασα*). The answer to this question and to this ascription of blessedness is the Magnificat, with its verbal reference to the loving speech of Elizabeth: "all generations shall call me blessed" (*μακαριοῦσί με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί*). The word *μακάριος* is not so common as to be used in such a connection without emphasis.

Now if anyone will take the trouble to read the various conversations recorded in the Old Testament he will see, I think, that when any question is addressed to a person or persons whom the reader knows to be present, the formula of reply is frequently, and perhaps generally, without proper name and without pronoun: "and (he or she or they) said" (*καὶ εἶπεν* or *καὶ εἶπον*), just as here. Good instances, out of many, may be found in 1 Kings xxii., the conversation of the kings and

prophets before going up to Ramoth Gilead. See v. 6, "and (they) said: Go up, &c."; vv. 15 and 17 where the LXX. have *καὶ εἶπεν* twice of Micaiah; and v. 22 *καὶ εἶπεν* of the lying spirit, and again *καὶ εἶπεν* of the Lord. In 1 Sam. ii. 1 *καὶ εἶπεν* does not follow a question direct or implied, and therefore refers to Hannah, whose rejoicing is in question, not to a new speaker.

It is of course true that the Biblical writers are not bound by this habit, as may be seen from verses 7 and 8, where after Jehoshaphat's question follows *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Ἰωσαφάτ*. So in this very chapter of S. Luke, in the record of Zacharias' vision and in that of the Annunciation, the names of the speakers are repeated. On the other hand the omission of the name or pronoun is not foreign to S. Luke's style elsewhere, e.g. in the finding in the temple after the question "Child, why didst thou thus deal with us?" follows *καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς*. Later in his Gospel he seems to me to use generally *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν*. But, as I have said, the first chapters have a special Old Testament colouring.

I would point out that, if "Mary" is not the right gloss, the question of Elizabeth and her glowing words of address to her cousin received, so far as we know, no answer or acknowledgment—which it is almost absurd to suppose can have been the case. Could S. Mary, who answered so freely and so bravely, yet so humbly, to the angel, have been silent at such a moment when addressed by one she knew so well?

The only point that remains to be considered is the specification of the name Mary in verse 56, just after the Magnificat, "and Mary abode with her," &c.

The reason for the introduction of the name seems to be the wish to show who was meant in this little historical narrative of one verse which is cut off from

the proper names by the whole length of the Magnificat. Of course Ἔμεινεν δέ might have stood alone, as Καὶ κατέλιπεν αὐτόν in 1 S. ii. 11, after the song of Hannah, or a pronoun might have been used, but αὐτός in the nominative case is very unusual and unclassical, occurring only twice in this Gospel (i. 22 of Zachariah and xv. 14 of the Prodigal Son), and ὁ δὲ, as I have said, is in the style of the later chapters. I suppose, however, that Μαριάμ was preferred as emphasizing the personality in whom the reader is naturally supposed to take a very deep interest. It takes up the thought and language of verse 39, so as to mark the whole section 39–56 as what we may call a "Mary section"; and then in verse 57 begins an "Elizabeth section," introduced by her name, which goes on to the end of the chapter. If "Mary" is right then, in verse 56, σὺν αὐτῇ naturally follows, and there was no reason to repeat the name Elizabeth. The Syriac reading "with Elizabeth" is, in my opinion, only one of the attempts to clear up ambiguity, of which we meet with other instances in the various readings of the LXX. and New Testament. Possibly there was once a reading: "And she abode with Elizabeth."

As regards the quotation of the passage by Nicetas it is very interesting, as showing a wider diffusion of MSS. ascribing the Magnificat to S. Elizabeth than has hitherto been matter of common knowledge. But I do not think we have reason to consider that he was a particularly expert biblical critic himself, and therefore his personal witness does not count for much.

JOHN SARUM.

29 *Nov.* 1904.

II. Ado's Martyrology

Dr Mercati has kindly furnished me with the following information as to the Vatican MSS. of Ado's Martyrology.

a =	Reg. lat.	514,	*saec.* x.
b =	„ „	511,	*saec.* x.
c =	„ „	512,	*saec.* x/xi.
d =	„ „	540,	*saec.* xi.
e =	Vat. lat.	378,	*saec.* x.
f =	„ „	4849,	*saec.* xi.
g =	„ „	5414,	*saec.* xi.

Ipso die[1] depositio beati[2] Niceę[3] romatianę[4] ciuitatis[5] episcopi.

1 Ipso die: Et *e* 2 beati: sancti *f* 3 Niceae: niceę (c above) *a*, niccae (ci above) *corr* ?, nicçe *b*, nicęę *f* 4 romatianę: romanę *b*, romatiani *c*, romatine *g* 5 ciuitates *f*

III. The Clause *Sanctorum Communionem*

While this book was passing through the press an important article on the history of the clause *sanctorum communionem* has been published by Dom Morin[1]. He has found a new form of creed containing the clause which may, with great probability, be ascribed to S. Jerome. This creed of S. Jerome has points of connexion with the Armenian Creed published by Catergian[2]. Dom Morin was therefore led to make the suggestion that the article was inserted in the creed of the Church of Cappadocia in Asia Minor during the controversy on Baptism in the 3rd century. Originally

[1] *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, t. ix. 1904, No. 3.
[2] *De fidei symbolo quo Armenii utuntur obseruationes*, Viennae, 1893.

it would express the fellowship of those who maintained the strictest Church discipline, rebaptizing all who had only received heretical baptism and regarding their reception unless so baptized as *communio malorum*, since they had not received the remission of sins through the holy Church.

It is easy to understand how S. Jerome, who had recently travelled through Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, picked up the clause. Dom Morin suggests that it might have been brought to Dacia by the Christian prisoners whom the Goths had transported from Pontus and Galatia in the time of Valerian and Gratian. Probably Niceta had some of the descendants of these Goths in his flock.

As time passed the sense was enlarged. It is the positive aspect which is prominent in the teaching of Niceta. I cannot do better than quote Dom Morin's conclusion: "On conçoit aussi que, par la suite, les théologiens se soient principalement attachés à mettre en lumière cet aspect si consolant de la grande et merveilleuse société des élus de Dieu, à travers tous les temps et dans tous les milieux les plus divers. C'est ainsi qu'une expression issue d'un sentiment plutôt exclusif, étroit, rigoriste à l'excès, a fini par devenir le thème de prédilection des esprits aux larges vues, prêts à embrasser dans un même intense et fraternel amour tous ceux qui auront jamais appartenu à l'âme de l'Église universelle. Véritable développement que celui-là, et l'un des meilleurs sans doute qui se soient accomplis en aucun temps dans le domaine de la théologie."

NICETA OF REMESIANA

OPERA NICETAE

1. De diuersis appellationibus.
2. Libelli instructionis (a Gennadio descripti):
   i. [qualiter se debeant habere competentes]. *Fragmenta.*
   ii. [de gentilitatis erroribus]. *Fragmenta.*
   iii. [de fide unicae maiestatis].
   iv. [aduersus genethliologiam]. *Deest.*
   v. [de symbolo].
   vi. [de agni paschalis uictima]. *Deest* (?). *Vid. opp. dubia.*
3. Sermones:
   i. de uigiliis.
   ii. de psalmodiae bono.
4. Hymnus:
   Te Deum laudamus.
5. Opera dubia:
   i. Ps. Athanasius de ratione paschae = Lib. instr. vi. de agni paschalis uictima?
   ii. Ad lapsam uirginem libellus:
      (A) Ps. Ambrosius de lapsu uirginis.
      (B) Epistula MS. Corbeiensis.

I. DE DIVERSIS APPELLATIONIBVS

A = Cod. Vatic. lat. 314. Saec. xv.
B = Cod. Vatic. lat. 325. Saec. xi.

Multa nomina multaeque appellationes in scripturis sanctis inueniuntur, quae Domino Iesu et saluatori nostro conueniunt. Dicitur uerbum, dicitur sapientia, lux, uirtus;

In A *deest tit.* Incipit sermo de diuersis domini uocabulis Augustino compositus B

1 multeque B 2 > inueniuntur sanctis B || que B *sic infra* 3 uerba B

dextera, brachium, angelus appellatur; homo dicitur, agnus, ouis, sacerdos; uia, ueritas, uita dicitur; uitis, iustitia, redemptio, panis, lapis, medicus, fons aquae uiuae, pax, iudex, ianua appellatur. Haec omnia dicitur; cum unus atque idem sit Dei filius Deus noster, ut uirtutis eius ac dispensationis ratio cognoscatur.

Audisti appellationes; quae nunc appellationum significationes? Verbum dicitur, uel quod impassibiliter genitus sit a Deo patre, uel quod sine diminutione paternae substantiae eius extiterit generatio. Nam nec homo diminutionem aliquam pati uidetur cum uerbum emittit. Vel certe uerbum dicitur quod per ipsum sit Deus Pater semper et angelis locutus et hominibus. Sapientia dicitur, quia per ipsum sunt in principio sapienter cuncta disposita. Lux dicitur, quia et primas mundi tenebras ipse inluminauit, et noctes mentium humanarum suo aduentu fugauit. Virtus dicitur, quia nulla eum potest superare creatura. Dextera et brachium dicitur, quia per ipsum uniuersa creata sunt, et ab ipso omnia continentur. Angelus magni consilii appellatur, quia ipse est nuntius paternae uoluntatis. Dicitur hominis filius, quia propter nos homines homo nasci dignatus est. Dicitur agnus propter innocentiam singularem. Ouis dicitur ut eius passio demonstretur. Sacerdos dicitur uel quia suum corpus oblationem et hostiam optulit Deo Patri pro nobis;

3 uiue B *sic infra* 4 dicitur] + et alia multa uocabula in scripturis sanctis de Christo inuenies A 5 uirtutes B 7 quae] quere B *sic infra* || appellationem B 9 *om* diminutione B || paterne substantie B 10 gen. Nam] generationem B 12 >uerbum d. c. A 13 *om* semper A || sapientie B 15 primum B || ipse] in se B || inluminauit B 17 >potest eum B 20 apellatur B *sic infra* 21 paterne B || Dicitur] Ds̄ (=Deus) B 25 obtulit B || *om* pro nobis B

6. **ratio cognoscatur**] Cf. *De Sp. s.* 1: 'Ratio a nobis inquiritur.'
8. **impassibiliter genitus**] Cf. *de rat. fid.* 4: 'Patrem in sua quoque impassibilitate manentem ita Filium generasse ut non passionem aliquam uel diminutionem senserit suae naturae.'

uel quod per nos dies singulos offerri dignatur. Dicitur uia quia per ipsum pergimus ad salutem, ueritas quia mendacia respuit. Vita dicitur, quia destruit mortem. Vitis appellatur, quia brachiorum palmites extendens in cruce, magnum saeculo dulcedinis praestitit fructum. Iustitia dicitur, quia per sui nominis fidem iustificat peccatores. Redemptio dicitur, quia olim perditos sanguinis sui pretio nos redemit. Panis dicitur, quia famem scientiae per suum refecit euangelium. Lapis dicitur, quia nec serpens in eo fecit uestigium, et nobis ipse praestitit munimentum. Medicus dicitur, quia infirmitates nostras et uulnera nostra sua uisitatione curauit. Fons aquae uiuae dicitur, quia *per lauacrum regenerationis*[1] et abluit et uiuificat peccatores. Pax dicitur, quia dissidentes in unum collegit, et Deo Patri nos reconciliauit. Resurrectio dicitur, quia ipse omnia de sepulchris corpora suscitabit. Iudex dicitur, quia ipse est et uiuos iudicaturus et mortuos. Ianua dicitur, quia per ipsum ad caelorum regna a fidelibus introitur.

Ergo quia tantis et nominibus et titulis Dominus communis appellatur, habe fiduciam, o fidelis, et spem tuam in ipso tota uirtute constitue. Nam ut Patrem scias, ipse tibi Verbum est. Si uis recte sapere, ipsum quaere, quia sapientia est. Si tenebras aliquas sensus tuus patitur, Christum require, quia lumen est. Infirmus es?

[1] Tit. iii. 5.

1 offerre B 2 *om* ueritas...mortem A *per homoeoteleuton* 4 > in cruce extendens B 5 seculo A || prestitit AB *sic infra* || > p. dulcedinis B 6 iustificat + et B 7 *om* dicitur B 8 famis scientiam A, famen scientie B, famem gentium *Mai* 10 > fecit in eo B 11 monimentum A 14 abluet B 15 colligit in unum A 17 suscitauit B 19 celorum B per ipsum caelorum regni fidelibus aperitur introitus A 20 in commune Dominus A 21 *om* o A

5. **dulcedinis**] Cf. *de ps. bono* 5: 'Suaui meditantium dulcedine.'

habes refugium, quia et medicus est et uirtus. Vis scire per quem sit mundus creatus, et a quo omnia contineantur? ipsum crede, quia brachium et dextera perhibetur. Pauorem sustines aliquem? in omnibus tibi uelut angelus aderit. Si tibi difficile fuerit uisum accedere ad tantam unigeniti maiestatem, ne desperes, quia et homo factus est, ut ad eum facilem accessum haberet humanitas. Si innocens fueris, tibi se sociabit uelut agnus. Si te persecutio aliqua gentilis contristat, sume fiduciam, quia et ipse tamquam ouis immolatus est; et tamquam sacerdos Patri suscipiet te offerendum. Si uiam salutis ignoras, require Christum, quia ipse est iter animarum. Si uis scire ueritatem, ipsum audi quia ueritas est. Mortem omnino ne timeas, quia Christus uita credentium est. Dulcedo te saeculi delectat? magis ad crucem Christi conuertere, ut eius uitis, quae in cruce pependit, dulcedine recreeris. Peccator es perditus? iustitiam debes esurire, redemptorem sitire, quod Christus est: satiat enim quia panis est. Si nutas in aliquo, firma gressus in ipso, quia lapis est; et te munitum praestabit ut murus. Infirmus et debilis es? ab ipso quaere remedium, quia medicus est. Ardorem pateris peccatorum, uel maxime quicumque es catechumenus? curre ad uitae fontem, ut ardor tuus extinguatur, et aeternitatem tua anima consequatur. Si ira discruciat et exagitat dissensio, accede ad Christum, quia pax est, ut Patri

1 quia...uirtus] ad uirtutem B 2 continentur A 3 dexteram B 4 uelud B 5 fuerit uisu A 6 maiestatem] potestatem B || disperes B 7 facile B || humanitas facile haberet aditum A 8 tibi] + ipsi A || sociauit B 9 contristat *ex* -stet (?) *corr. prima man.* B 10 et] + te A 11 *om* te A 17 retreheris B 18 exurire A 19 nutas] nudus B 20 gressum B || *om* et A 23 catecuminus B || uite B *sic infra* 24 ut] + et B || eternitatem tuam B

9. persecutio aliqua gentilis] Cf. *de symb.* 9: 'Si gentiles suadent.'

reconcilieris, et omnem diligas hominem tamquam te esse diligendum [iudicas]. Si occasum corporis times, et mortem uitae istius perhorrescis, memento quia resurrectio est; potest resuscitare quod cecidit. Si te peccati uoluptas sollicitat, et uitia carnis inuitant, praesens cogita quia iustus iudex est, seuerus examinator est, aeterni ignis praeparator est; et numquam te peccatorem peccare delectabit. Ad postremum, frater, si te desperatio aliqua inuaserit de remuneratione iustitiae, de caelestis gloriae expectatione, fideli mente ianuam illum esse praesume; quia per ipsum resuscitatus a mortuis, et caelorum secreta penetrabis, et angelorum consortium consequeris. Et audies illam desiderabilem uocem: *euge serue bone et fidelis, quia in pauca fidelis fuisti, intra in gaudium Domini tui; posside regnum quod tibi praeparatum est a mundi constitutione*[1]. Amen.

[1] Matt. xxv. 23, 34.

1 *om* et A 2 >dil. te esse A || iudicas *Mai*, *om codd.* 3 mortem] in ostem B || perorrescis B 5 uoluntas B || inuitant] irritant A || presens B] praescius A 6 siuerus B 7 eterni] *pr* et B || preparator B || te peccatorum peccare] peccato B 8 fratrem B 9 iustitie B || celestis glorie B 10 fideli] credibili A || presume B 11 quia]+et B || celorum B 14 *om* in pauca B || > fuisti fidelis A 15 possidere B || preparatum A, paratum B 16 constitutione] + ipso prestante qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat Deus per omnia saecula seculorum B

12. angelorum consortium consequeris] This is a characteristic thought in Niceta's exposition of the Communion of Saints (*de symb.* 10).

II. LIBELLI INSTRVCTIONIS

Libellus Primus

Descripsit Gennadius: 'qualiter se debeant habere competentes.'

Extant fragmenta.

M^1 = Cod. lat. Monacensis 6325 (Fris. 125). Saec. ix.
M^2 = Cod. lat. Monacensis 6324 (Fris. 124). Saec. x.
R = Cod. Rotomagensis 469 (A. 214). Saec. xi. xii.
V = Cod. Vindobonensis 1370. Saec. x.

FRAG. I.

M^1M^2RV

Niceta in libro primo ad competentes. Instructiones igitur necessarias ad fidem currentibus opus est explorare, quas et rusticae animae possint aduertere pariter et tenere, non ex proprio ingenio compositas sed ex diuinarum scripturarum praedicatione collectas, quibus edocentur ad baptismum electi, ut quid dimiserint sciant, et quid desiderant magis intellegant, et quid accepturi sunt uel quid obseruare debeant certius recognoscant; quia magnum est quod inchoant, grande est quod desiderant, siue Deus inspirauit, siue homo commonuit et suasit.
R Qui hoc beneficium praestitit melius aliud prouidere non potuit. Quid autem potest esse melius hoc consilio, cum homo de infideli efficitur fidelis, de peccatore fit

4 conpositas V 6 *om* ad *Migne* 7 sunt] sint RV 9 inchoant] desiderant RV || desiderant] inchoant RV 10 suasit] *Hic desunt* M^1M^2V

iustus, de seruo liber, de extraneo domesticus, de inimico amicus Dei constituitur, postremo ad similitudinem Dei reformatur, atque heres regni caelestis inscribitur? Hoc praestat fides, hoc praestat baptisma omni homini, tam libero quam seruo, tam uiro quam feminae, tam diuiti quam pauperi, tam Romano quam seruo. Et ut sciatis hoc ita esse, audite quid apostolus Paulus, per quem Deus locutus est, affirmet: *Expoliate uos*, inquit, *ueterem hominem cum actibus suis et induite nouum qui renouatur in agnitionem eius qui illum creauit*[1].

[1] Col. iii. 9, 10.

Frag. 2.

V

Niceta in libro primo ad competentes. Catechumenus, quasi hospes[1] et uicinus fidelium, de foris audiens mysteria, nec intellegens; audiens gratiam nec aduertens; ex hoc uero fidelis incipit appellari.

11 caticuminus V 12 hospis V 13 *ante* gratiam *una lit. ras.* V

[1] Cf. Tractatus Origenis ed. Batiffol, xii. p. 135: 'Primum etenim catechumenum hominem quasi ad hospitium corporis sermo legis ingreditur.'

Frag. 6.

V

In lib. primo. Cur exorcizatur, nisi ad consequendam gratiam praeparatur? Per exorcismos enim ueluti per ignem purgantur; quia ignita sint eloquia Domini, ex quibus sunt exorcismi compositi.

Libellus Secundus

Descripsit Gennadius: 'de gentilitatis erroribus.' *Extant fragmenta.*

FRAG. 4.

M^1M^2RV

Item in lib. II. Certe omne peccatum sine daemonis operatione non fit, quae omnia opera diaboli uel pompas eius esse intellegimus. His ergo malis se homo expediens, has catenas post dorsum suum uelut in faciem proiiciens inimici, iam sincera uoce pronuntiat: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem* et reliqua. De fide enim sicut in eodem symbolo continetur, pleniter ad fidem quisque atque ad baptisma peruenire desiderans, instruendus est pariter et docendus, ut breuitatem symboli in corde memoriter teneat, quod cotidie dicat apud semet ipsum, antequam dormiat, cum de somno resurrexit, quod omnibus horis in mente habeat; similiter et orationem Dominicam, et signaculum crucis quo se contra diabolum muniat.

1 demonis M^1M^2R 2 fit] sit R || eius pompis RV 3 intelligimus RV 4 uelut] quasi M^1M^2 5 proiciens M^1 || pronunciet R 6 reliqua] cetera R. *Hic des.* R 7 simbolo V 8 atque] uel M^1M^2 9 simboli V 10 corde] *duo litt. ras.* M^1 || quotidie *Migne* 11 surrexit M^1M^2 12 et] atque M^1 13 *om* crucis M^1 || > muniat contra diabolum M^2

FRAG. 5.

V

In lib. secundo[1] *ad competentes.* Symbolum est commonitorium fidei et sancta confessio quae communiter ab omnibus tenetur et discitur.

15 secundo] *om Migne*

Note on Fragments 2 and 5.

Fragments 2 and 5 are quoted by Isidore of Seville in his *de officiis* ii. 22, in a context which suggests the possibility that he is really quoting other phrases from these books of Niceta. The quotations are free but distinct. It seems worth while to

insert them at this point for comparison; so with some hesitation I have included the whole context. Elsewhere in his *de officiis* Isidore quotes other writings of Niceta, i.e. from the *de psalm. bon.* in i. 5, 6, ii. 8; from the *de uigiliis* 1, 5, 7, 8 in i. 22; from the *de symbolo* in ii. 23[1].

[1] I owe these references to Mr Brightman.

Isidorus *de ecclesiast. offic.* ii. 21, 22.

Iam nunc rationem sacramentorum, siue ordinem ad fidem uenientium prosequamur. Quorum gradus primus est catechumenorum, secundus competentium, tertius baptizatorum. Catechumeni sunt, qui primum de gentilitate ueniunt habentes uoluntatem credendi in Christum, et quia primum exhortationis praeceptum est in lege Dei: *Audi Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est*: inde est, ut is cui per sacerdotem, quasi per Moysen, Deus primum loquitur, catechumenus, id est audiens, nominetur, scilicet, ut unum agnoscens Dominum, relinquat errores uarios idolorum. Puto autem et omnes a Ioanne in poenitentiam baptizatos catechumenorum praetulisse figuram. Exorcizantur autem hi primum, deinde sales accipiunt, et unguntur. Exorcismus autem sermo increpationis est contra inmundum spiritum in energuminis, siue catechumenis factus, per quem ab illis diaboli nequissima uirtus, et inveterata malitia, uel uiolenta incursio expulsa fugetur. Hoc significat lunaticus ille, quem increpauit Iesus, et exiit ab illo daemonium. Potestas autem diaboli exorcizatur, et insufflatur in eis ut ei renuntient, atque eruti a potestate tenebrarum, in regnum sui Domini per sacramentum baptismatis transferantur. Quod ita paruuli per se renuntiare non possunt: per corda et ora gestantium adimpletur. Sales autem in ministerium catechumenis dandos a Patribus ideo est institutum, ut eorum gustus condimentum sapientiae percipiant, neque desipiant a sapore Christi; nec sint fatui, et retro respiciant, sicut uxor Lot, ne malum exemplum dantes ipsi remaneant, ut alios condiant. Quemadmodum illa, quae, cum liberaretur a Sodomis, in via posita retro respexit:

ibique remansit facta statua salis. Quo signo condirentur hi, qui per fidem mundo, et actibus, desideriisque eius renuntiant: ut affectionis pristinae non recordentur, neque ad saeculi illecebras reuocentur, quia secundum Saluatoris sententiam, ponens manum suam super aratrum, et respiciens retro, regno caelorum aptus esse non potest.

c. 22. Post catechumenos, secundus competentium gradus est. Competentes autem sunt, qui iam post doctrinam fidei, post continentiam uitae ad gratiam Christi percipiendam festinant. Ideoque appellantur competentes, id est, gratiam Christi petentes: nam catechumeni tantum audiunt, necdum petunt. Sunt enim *quasi hospites, et uicini fidelium, de foris audiunt mysteria* et *gratiam*, sed adhuc non appellantur *fideles*. Competentes autem iam petunt, iam accipiunt, iam catechizantur, id est, imbuuntur instructione sacramentorum. Istis enim salutare symbolum traditur, *quasi commonitorium fidei, et sanctae confessionis* indicium, quo instructi agnoscant, quales iam ad gratiam Christi exhibere se debeant.

Libellus Tertius

Descripsit Gennadius: 'de fide unicae maiestatis.

i. *De ratione fidei.*

ii. *De Spiritus sancti potentia.*

i. [*De ratione fidei*]

V = Cod. Vatic. lat. 314. Saec. xv.
Vig. Taps. = Vigilius Tapsensis *de Trinitate* Lib. x., ed. Chifflet.

1. Renatis hominibus per fidem, et sanctificatis secundum euangelii formam in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, et per hanc confessionem regnum caeleste sperantibus, nihil magis utile esse dixit apostolus, quam ut his bonorum sit operum cura. Sic enim scribit ad

Incipit allocutio sancti Nicete de ratione fidei V

Titum: *Et de his uolo te confirmare ut curam habeant bonorum qui credunt in Deo. Haec sunt*, inquit, *bona et utilia hominibus. Stultas autem quaestiones et genealogias et rixas et pugnas legis deuita; sunt enim inutiles et uanae*[1]. Haec scribens beatus apostolus, iam tunc praeuidebat futuros homines qui per curiositatem et quaestiones inutiles curam bonorum operum praetermissuri erant; et pacem, quam Dominus ecclesiae suae reliquerat, perdituri. Namque homines, qui dum alta sapere conantur, nec humilia intelligere permittuntur, obliti dictum apostoli: *Noli alta sapere sed time*[2], sic dum inlicita praesumant, etiam licita perdiderunt. Isti sunt qui cum nec fabricam caeli et terrae sensu colligere et capere ualeant, ipsum conditorem et fabricatorem Deum capere et mensurare contendunt; et quem debent per operum magnitudinem et tantarum rerum immensitatem solummodo et simpliciter adorare, in quaestionem mittunt; et de qualitate mysterii eius ac de quantitate disputant, dicentes: "Quantus Pater? Qualis Filius? Cuiusmodi Spiritus sanctus?" O homo, nondum te ipsum cognoscens, audes diuina metiri.

2. Et quidem taceo de Sabellio Patripassiano, qui stulta praesumptione ausus est dicere ipsum esse Patrem qui est Filius; ipsum etiam esse Spiritum sanctum: et nomine tantum esse Trinitatem, non etiam ueritate; nec personis subsistere sed sola nuncupatione: ac si totum confundit, cum ipsum Patrem corpus suscepisse et passum esse confingit. Taceo de Photino, qui audiens unigeniti Filii Dei incarnationem, humilitatem, passionem quoque illam salutiferam nobis, hominem tantum eum putauit; Deum autem, quem debuit ex ipsis operibus

[1] Tit. iii. 8, 9. [2] Rom. xi. 20.

28 Fotiniano V

agnoscere, denegauit: oblitus dictum Apostoli dicentis: *Quia cum in forma Dei esset Christus, formam serui accepit*[1]*;* ut nobis, uti seruis peccati, daret uerissimam libertatem. Et ad Corinthios: *Scitis,* ait, *gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia propter uos pauper factus est, cum esset diues, ut eius paupertate diuites essetis*[2]. Taceo ergo tam de Sabellio quam de Photino, quia ab omnibus fere ecclesiis dignam errori suo sententiam detulerunt.

3. De hac haeresi, quae nunc fidei catholicae calumniatur, pauca dicere postulastis; de hac utique haeresi, quae ab Arrio auctore exorsa est. Hic namque non fuit contentus euangelicis uocibus, apostolorum praedicationibus, quae utique Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum sonant: nec dignatus est ita, ut dignum est, credere, quia Pater habet Filium, et Filius uere habet Patrem: sed cum se extendit infelix, et uult inquirere quomodo et qualiter Deus potuit generare, modum non apprehendens, quia nec comprehendi potest, cecidit in errorem, ut et Patrem denegaret et Filium. Sic autem negat Patrem, quia dicit eum non potuisse de se proprium et uerum Filium generare: Filium uero sic negat, dum eum aliunde et de nullis exstantibus dicit factum esse potius quam genitum; et creaturam esse quandam, quae meruit propter caritatem Filium appellari; non autem uere esse Filium qui de Patre sit genitus: et inde est quod alterius eum substantiae commentatus est, ne omnino Patris uerus Filius esse credatur. Contra hanc ergo eius peruersitatem et nouam doctrinam facta est Nicaena synodus, ubi omnibus collatis et decursis scripturis,

[1] Phil. ii. 6. [2] 2 Cor. viii. 9.

10 haerese V 11 Ario V *et infra* 28 nicea V

19. Mai compares Ambrose *c. Pallad.* ii. 8 on which Phoebadius *c. Ar.* ii. 8 seems to be dependent.

ueritas manifestata est, scripta est. Nam denique Filium, quem Arrius dixerat aliunde esse et non de Patre, neque de substantia Patris, id est de eo ipso quod Deus est, sancti patres nostri professi sunt "natum de Patre, hoc est de substantia Patris, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non factum, unius substantiae cum Patre"; ut nulla utique diuersitas credatur in Filio. Re uera utique si uerus est Dei Filius, et uere de Deo Patre est genitus, non utique alterius substantiae est credendus, nisi eius cuius est Filius, ut sicut Pater Deus est, ita Deus sit Filius; et sicut lumen Pater est, ita lumen sit Filius.

4. Sed offendit aliquantos haec ipsa professio, qua creditur Filium eiusdem esse substantiae, et per calumnias professio sancta torquetur. Nam sic interpretantur unius substantiae dictum, quasi nos diuisum dicamus Patrem; et pars Patris sit Filius; et Deus Pater sit imminutus in Filio: uel certe per fluxum et deriuationem Filius paternae substantiae retineat unitatem. Quod absit non solum a sensibus, sed etiam ab auribus Christianis, ut tale aliquid in mentem nostram ueniat. Nos autem sic unius substantiae credimus Filium, ut Patrem credamus in sua aeternitate perfectum, in sua quoque impassibilitate manentem, ita Filium generasse, ut non passionem aliquam uel diminutionem senserit suae naturae suaeque maiestatis, sed perfectus ipse perfectum de se genuerit ante omnia saecula uerum Filium omnipotentem, per quem scilicet *omnia facta sunt, sine quo factum est nihil*[1]; ut uerus Pater unigeniti Filii sui, et uerus Filius Patris esse credatur, non confusus sed dis-

[1] Io. i. 3.

5 Patris + id est de eo ipso quod Deus est *linea subscriptum* V

13. **aliquanti**] used for *aliquot* also in *de symb.* 5 aliquanti hereticorum.

tinctus; omnia tamen habens in se Filius quae sunt Patris, sicut ipse ait in euangelio: *Omnia quae habet Pater, mea sunt*[1]. Quae illa omnia? utique uirtutem, utique potentiam, bonitatem, incorruptelam, gloriam et aeternitatem, sicut habet Pater. Ceterum si haec non erunt in Filio, uereor dicere, Pater in Filio degenerasse uideatur. Et si hoc ita est ut degener Filius aestimetur, quomodo idem honor ipso dicente Domino, *ut omnes honorificent Filium sicut honorificant Patrem*[2]? Hoc exigit Dominus, hoc exhibent fideles: nec scandalizantur de humilitate Filii Saluatoris, nec de uerbis eius quae secundum hominem locutus est: neque de passionibus, quas propter mundi salutem implere dignatus est: sed per haec ipsa plus se gratiae, plus honoris debere sentiunt Christo: ut et si non esset praeceptum in euangelio ut omnes honorificent Filium sicut honorificant Patrem, ultro hoc facerent fideliores: quia ille qui se humiliare dignatus est, exaltari debuerat, sicut scriptum est: *Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur*[3].

5. At cum Pater dicat; *Hic est Filius meus, hunc audite*[4], Filius dicat: *Vt omnes honorificent Filium sicut honorificant Patrem*[5]; quae caecitas mentium est, intermissa honorificentia, contumelias concinnare? quae obliuio spei est, infirmum et minorem et contemptibilem aestimare Christum, qui nobis fortitudinem et magnitudinem et gloriam secundum Patris sui contulit uoluntatem? Crede mihi; Filii honor dignitas Patris est: quantum detuleris unigenito, tanto magis amplificabis gloriam Patris. Bonus Pater non inuidet gloriam Filio; quia

[1] Io. xvi. 15. [2] Io. v. 23. [3] Luc. xiv. 11. [4] Luc. ix. 35. [5] Io. v. 23.

25 aestimare] errare V

4. **incorruptelam**] *pro* incorruptionem also in *de symb.* c. 11.

omnis gloria Filii recurrit in Patrem. Hic est catholicus sensus, haec deuotio fidelium, hoc studium sanctorum. Secundum haec, omnia dicta et facta Saluatoris intellegunt, et intellegentes loquuntur. Nec omnino impediuntur ad hanc deuotionem per illa quae Domini uoluntatem uidentur ostendere: ut puta: *Pater maior me est*[1]; et, *Non ueni facere uoluntatem meam*[2]; et, *Filius a se nihil potest facere*[3]; et alia multa huiusmodi: quae omnia non infirmant Filium, neque depretiant, sed a Patre distinguunt. Siquidem et haec ideo sunt posita, ut uera eius diuinitas non negetur: *Ego de Deo Patre exiui*[4]; et, *Ego in Patre, et Pater in me*[5]; *Ego et Pater unum sumus*[6]; et, *Qui me uidet, uidit et Patrem*[7]; et, *Sicut Pater suscitat mortuos et uiuificat, ita et Filius quos uult uiuificat*[8].

6. Sed nec illa fidelem animam scandalizant, quibus Dominus esurisse, dormisse, lacrimasse refertur; tunc, tristis usque ad mortem, crux, passio, sepultura: siquidem ad hoc sunt scripta et facta, ut et tolerantiae exempla praeberentur, et uera eius incarnatio nosceretur. Nam in eo quod esurisse Dominus dicitur, ueri corporis assumptionem intellege. In eo autem, cum quinque panibus et piscibus duobus quinque millia hominum satiat, ueram eius diuinitatem cognosce. Certe cum dicit: *Ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi*[9], non cadit in sensum nostrum ut panis esurire credatur. Sic et de somno

[1] Io. xiv. 28. [2] Io. vi. 38. [3] Io. v. 19.
[4] Io. xvi. 28. [5] Io. x. 38. [6] ib. 30.
[7] Io. xiv. 9. [8] Io. v. 21. [9] Io. vi. 51.

9 distingunt V 15 scandalizent *Vig. Taps.* 16 esuriisse *Vig. Taps.*, exurisse V || refertur] memoratur *Vig. Taps.* || tunc tristis] tristasse *Vig. Taps.* 17 crux p. s.] passionem quoque et crucem *Vig. Taps* 18 hoc] id *Vig. Taps.* 20 esuriisse *Vig. Taps.* 21 cum] quod *Vig. Taps.* 22 > duobus p. *Vig. Taps.*

25. Mai compares *de symb.* c. 4. The passage may be imitated from Greg. Nazianzen. *orat.* 35.

intellegendum est: quoniam sicut per somnum corporis ueritas cognoscitur, sic per illud quod statim uentis et fluctibus imperat, uera eius diuinitas approbatur. Nam quod lacrimas super Lazarum fudit, fantasmatis suspicio tollitur; lacrimae enim ueri corporis sunt humores. Quod autem dicit: *Lazare, ueni foras*[1], et statim ille qui iam fetebat, aperiente se terra, uiuus emersit, magnum eius diuinitatis indicium est. Nam et illud quod ait: *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*[2], ex hac ipsa Lazari resurrectione intellegi potest, qualiter debeat accipi: nec enim diuinitas mortem metuebat, sed humanum affectum per tristitiam animi indicabat. Crux aeque, passio et sepultura, uno uel altero dicto Domini discutiuntur, quominus ei impotentia uel infirmitas ascribatur. Cum dicit ad Iudaeos: *Soluite templum hoc*, utique corpus suum dicebat: *et ego in triduo suscitabo illud*[3]. Et iterum ait: *Potestatem habeo ponere animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumere illam*[4]. Si corporis sui suscitat templum, si potestas est ponendae animae per passionem et resumendae per resurrectionem, cessat in Christo infirmitatis opinio, ubi tantae potestatis sublimitas declaratur.

7. Omnia ergo pie intelligenda sunt; omnia honorifice sunt tractanda; utrumque in Domino confitendum

[1] Io. xi. 43. [2] Matt. xxvi. 38. [3] Io. ii. 19. [4] Io. x. 18.

1 somnium V 3 Nam + et *Vig. Taps.* 4 fundit *Vig. Taps.* ‖ phantasmatis *Vig. Taps.* 5 Quod] Cum *Vig. Taps.* 6 ueni] exi *Vig. Taps.* 7 emergit magnae *Vig. Taps.* 8 Nam] Iam *Vig. Taps.* ‖ *om* et *Vig. Taps.* 10 suscitatione *Vig. Taps.* ‖ qualiter] quomodo *Vig. Taps.* ‖ quia non utique metuebat diuinitas mortem, quae uerbo mortuos suscitabat sed *Vig. Taps.* 12 tristitias animae *Vig. Taps.* ‖ *om* et *Vig. Taps.* 13 una uel altera V 14 adscribatur *Vig. Taps.* 16 Et iterum] Item ait *Vig. Taps.* 18 Si] sic V 19 ponendi animam *Vig. Taps.* 20 sumendi *Vig. Taps.* ‖ cesset *Vig. Taps.* ‖ 23 omnia 2° + ergo *Vig. Taps.* 24 tractanda sunt *Vig. Taps.*

est; et forma in qua semper fuit, et forma serui, quae accepta est propter seruos. Credenda est et passio secundum carnem, et impassibilitas secundum diuinitatem; ne aut impii aut ingrati iudicemur. Nam qui Filium Dei, secundum id quod est, impassibilem negat, et Deo Patri dicit esse dissimilem; hic impius est. Et qui passiones eius secundum carnem confiteri dedignatur, ingratus est. Gloriemur ergo in cruce Christi, sicut Paulus gloriari consueuit: *Mihi*, inquit, *absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi*[1]. Confiteamur unitatem et non separemur: *Si enim mortui sumus*, ut ait apostolus, *et conuiuemus: si sustinemus, et conregnabimus. Si negamus et ille negabit nos*[2]. Si non credimus quod ipse dicit, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, *ille fidelis permanet, negare se ipsum non potest*[3]; quia in gloria Dei Patris est; quia uiuit cum Patre; quia regnat cum Patre uno eodemque imperio. Sicut ait apostolus, cum de omni impudico et immundo et auaro loqueretur: *Non erit*, inquit, *heres in regno Christi et Dei*[4]; unum regnum tam Christi dixit quam Dei; quia una uoluntas Patris et Filii, una cooperatio, una denique gratia, eademque gubernatio est: sicut idem magister gentium docet scribens: *Gratia uobis et pax a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Iesu Christo*[5]. Et iterum: *Ipse autem Deus et Pater noster et Dominus Iesus dirigat uiam nostram ad uos*[6]. Non dixit *dirigant*, ne Patris et Filii diuersitatem aut uoluntatis, aut potestatis induceret; sed dixit *dirigat*, ut unitatem potius demonstraret. Hac igitur fide isdem uerbis et nos oremus ut Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una gratia, una pax, una etiam gubernatio semper nos et tueatur et dirigat.

[1] Gal. vi. 14. [2] 2 Tim. ii. 12. [3] Io. x. 30; 2 Tim. ii. 13.
[4] Eph. v. 5. [5] Phil. i. 2. [6] 1 Thess. iii. 11.

1 forma + Dei *Vig. Taps.* 2 Conficiendum V 4 aut 2° *om* V

Haec pauca ad uicem commentarioli, quia uobis scribi postulastis, negare non potui. Confido quia fidelibus animis, etsi breuia sunt, plenam poterunt praestare laetitiam Dei.

ii. [*De Spiritus sancti potentia*]

C = Cod. Colon. xxxiii (Darmstad. 2029). Saec. ix.
V = Cod. Vatic. lat. 314. Saec. xv.
Vig. Taps. = Vigilius Tapsensis *de Trinitate* Lib. x., ed. Chifflet.

1. Sequitur, ut quid de tertia persona, id est Spiritu sancto, sentiam, pro captu mentis exponam: siquidem de eo uel maxime dubitare multos intellego. Et licet temerarium sit de hoc disputare, qui Patri et Filio in confessione sociatur secundum Domini traditionem et nostram in baptismo confessionem, tamen quia multi diuersa sentiunt, et ratio a nobis inquiritur, necessario reddenda est; nec aliunde reddenda, nisi ex diuinarum fontibus scripturarum. Certus autem sum, praeoccupatas aures et sensus alia opinione grauatos, difficile posse placari: perniciosa est enim praeuentio. Nam hoc in natura humana est, si de aliquo uiro bono male nobis fuerit susurratum, et praeuenerit cognitionem ueri nuntius mendax, difficile et laboriose susceptam deponimus opinionem, etiamsi idoneis adsertoribus doceamur. Quod nunc multis suspicor euenturum, qui praua doctorum interpretatione anticipati, Spiritum sanctum creaturam

Incipit sancti Iohannis episcopi de Spiritu sancto C, *car. tit.* V

6 *om* ut C ‖ Spiritus sancti V 8 eo] hoc V ‖ intelligo *codd* 15 oppinione C *et alibi* 16 pernitiosa C 17 si] *pr* ut V 18 ueri] uiri C 20 etiamsi] etiam C ‖ assertoribus V ‖ doceamus C 22 interpraetatione C

18. susurratum] Cf. *de Symb.* c. 4: 'In auribus susurrare tentauerit.'

crediderunt, et tamquam ministrum uel seruum despexerunt. Ad propositum igitur redeamus.

2. In Nicaeno tractatu positum est secundum symboli formam: "Credimus et in Spiritum sanctum." Quod utique sufficiebat fidelibus, quia nec ulla tunc quaestio aut contradictio de sancto Spiritu habebatur. Vtinam ita, ut fuerat traditum, cum Patre et Filio Spiritum sanctum simpliciter credidissent illi, qui postmodum quaestionem de Spiritu induxerunt! ut puta, Macedoniani uel eorum in hac curiositate participes. Dum enim quaerunt et isti, qualis est Spiritus sanctus? unde est? quantus est? natus est? an factus est? sic iterum sciderunt populum et uere, secundum apostoli dictum[1], interminabilem quaestionem ecclesiis induxerunt. Nonne oportuerat quem semel sanctum et natura sanctum crediderant, eum cum Patre magis et Filio honorificarent, quam creaturis sociarent? Sed adhuc inducunt quaestiones, et tortuosis interrogationibus simplices quosque fide spoliare contendunt. Nulli autem dubium puto esse, quia mala interrogatio eum quem interrogat uirum, nisi cautus fuerit, nescium praecipitat in blasphemiam. Et inde est quod praemonet Paulus: *Videte ne quis uos spoliet per philosophiam et inanem deceptionem*[2]. Interrogant enim rebelles Spiritus sancti: 'Natus est Spiritus sanctus, an

[1] 1 Tim. i. 4. [2] Col. ii. 8.

1 *om* uel seruum V 3 symboli] singuli C* 4 Credidimus C, *om* in V 5 nec...ita] in illo conuentu de Filio quaestio fuerat, non de Spiritu sancto. Atque utinam V 9 ut puta] hic qui nunc sunt C 12 an] antë C 14 questionem C *et alibi* 15 natura] natum V 16 *om* magis C 20 quem i. uirum] qui interrogatur V 23 philosofiam C || *om* enim C 24 sancti] sanctus C || *om* sanctus C

18. tortuosis] Cf. *de Symb.* c. 9: 'Quaestionibus tortuosis.' Niceta refers in the next chapter also to the 'tortuosa philosophia' of Arian controversialists of which he conveys so vivid an impression.

innatus?' Ecce laquei duo dextra laeuaque protensi: in quam enim partem uolueris pedem responsionis extendere, capieris. Si dixeris: 'Natus est'; dicet: 'Et iam non esse unigenitum Filium Deo eo quod sit et alter natus a Patre.' Si dixeris: 'Non est natus'; dicet tibi: 'Ergo et alter erit Pater ingenitus, et iam non est *unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia*[1].' Postquam uero utrimque uiam responsionis obstruxerit, iam te quasi recto cursu deducit in foueam ut dicat: 'Si ergo neque natus est de Patre Spiritus, neque ingenitus, superest ut creatura dicatur.'

3. Quid faciet inter has clausulas fides ecclesiae? adquiescet tortuosae philosophiae, et contra omnium opinionem scripturarum tam ueteris quam noui testamenti credet esse creaturam Spiritum Dei sanctum, quem nusquam creaturam legere poterit? Melius plane faciet, si spretis conclusionibus et humanis uinculis interrogationum, ad Domini sui se uertat auctoritatem. Ipse enim in euangelio dicit unde sit Spiritus sanctus, ipse finem statuit quaestioni qui finem non habet. Dicit ergo ad apostolos: *Mittam uobis a Patre* [*paraclitum*] *Spiritum ueritatis*[2]. Sed unde sit? nescis. Si uis scire, audi ipsum dicentem: *Hic de Patre procedit.* Quid nunc oportet, fratres? Christum audire, an homines? Christus neque natum neque factum dixit Spiritum sanctum, sed hoc solum quia de Patre procedit. Con-

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 6. [2] Io. xv. 26.

1 laquaei C || lauaque C 2 responsionem C 3 dicit iam C 5 *om* a Patre V || dicit C 7 utramque C 12 faciet] fiat C 13 adquiescit C, -at V || omnem C 15 crediditt C, credit V, credat *Mai* || creaturarum C, creatum V || Dei *sup. ras.* C 16 potuit V, + Absit V 17 spretis] + huiusmodi humanis V || *om* humanis V 18 uertat auct.] uerba conuertat V 19 *om* sit C || *om* sanctus C 21 *om* paraclitum C 22 nescitis V || *om* Si C 23 *Repetitur in* V Quid n. o. fratres; *tum subscripta linea expungitur* 25 *om* neque natum V

trarii dicunt, quia factus est, et creatus. Puto melius esse ita credere, ut Christus Dominus reuelauit, quam ut humana praesumptio concinnauit. Si autem interrogemus eos unde possint probare factum Spiritum sanctum; cum non habeant de Scripturis certum et euidens testimonium, adsumunt illud quod dictum est in euangelio: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil*[1]. Dicunt ergo: 'Si omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et Spiritus sanctus factus inter omnia credendus est.' Haec non est aperta probatio, sed potius scrupulosa collectio. Quid igitur; Iohannes, qui haec dicebat, in quo loquebatur spiritu? nonne in Spiritu sancto? si ergo in Spiritu loquebatur, ipse utique Spiritus loquebatur. De his autem dicebat, quia per ipsum facta sunt omnia quae utique in multitudine et ordine creaturae sint constituta; non de se dicebat Spiritus sanctus, ut ipse quoque inter ceteras creaturas factus ex nihilo crederetur.

4. Testis autem est huius rei beatus apostolus Paulus, qui nominatim illa, quae per Christum facta sunt, exsequitur. *In ipso*, inquit, *condita sunt omnia quae in caelis et quae in terra, uisibilia et inuisibilia; siue sedes, siue dominationes, siue principatus, siue potestates: omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt*[2]. Numquid inter omnia caelestia et terrestria etiam Spiritum sanctum nominauit? Et utique principaliter nomin-

[1] Io. i. 3. [2] Col. i. 16.

1 dicent C || Poto C 2 esset ista V 3 ut humana] humanam C 4 possit C* || Sp. s. dominum factum V 5 *om* de scripturis C || *om* et V 6 adsumant C, assumant V 7, 8 *om* et...sunt C 10 aperta] apta *Mai* 11 Quid] Quaero V || os Ioannis V 12 >spiritu loquebatur V || *om* nonne...loquebatur C 15 creaturae] creaturarum V 16 sunt V || *om* constituta C || *om* de V || semet ipso V 19 *om* est C 21 inquid C 22 uisibilia] inuisibilia C*

asset, si eum creatum uel factum, sicut cetera, cognouisset. Si autem tam dure uis intelligere illud quod dictum est, *omnia per ipsum facta sunt*, ut non excipias Spiritum sanctum; quaero quid sentias de eo quod dicit propheta Dauid ad Dominum, *omnia seruiunt tibi*[1]; numquid Spiritum sanctum inter omnia seruire dicis, aut seruum appellabis, qui utique non est seruus, sed Dominus liberans a seruitute creaturam? Quod autem sit Dominus Spiritus sanctus, Thessalonicensibus sic Paulus ostendit: *Dominus dirigat corda uestra in dilectione Dei et tolerantia Christi*[2]. Spiritum sine dubio Dominum dixit, de quo et ipse Saluator ad apostolos dixerat, quia *et ipse uos diriget in omnem ueritatem*[3]. Adhuc euidentius docet Paulus dicens: *Dominus est Spiritus; ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas est*[4]. Et ad Romanos: *Non*, inquit, *accepistis spiritum seruitutis iterum in timore, sed accepistis Spiritum adoptionis*[5]. Si Spiritus adoptionis est, et facit homines filios Dei, quomodo ipse in seruili condicione ponitur, cum seruus non possit legitime liberare? *Quoniam*, inquit, *estis filii, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in cordibus nostris clamantem: Abba, Pater. Si autem filius, et heres per Deum; ergo iam non est seruus, sed filius*[6]. Si me Spiritus liberum facit et filium et proprii nominis diuinitatis suae heredem, impius ero si eum seruum dixero qui me liberum fecit. Libertas autem Spiritus

[1] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 91. [2] 2 Thess. iii. 5. [3] Io. xvi. 13.
[4] 2 Cor. iii. 17. [5] Rom. viii. 15. [6] Gal. iv. 6, 7.

1 *om* sicut...3 est C* 3 omnia] *pr* et C || *om* ut CV || accipias [illegible]
5 Dominum] *pr* d V 6 numquid + de C (*pro* et?) 7 appella[illegible]
est + non est C 9 *om* Spiritus sanctus C || Thessalonecensibus
Thessalonicenses scribens Paulus sic dicit V 11 Dei] Domini V
ad apostolos C 13 *om* et V 15 *om* est V 17 *om* iterum in t[illegible]
C 19 ponetur C 21 corda uestra declamantem V 22 haere[illegible]
24 Spiritus] Christus V 25 *om* eum C 26 facit V

in hoc etiam manifestatur, quod dixit apostolus: *Omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, diuidens singulis prout uult*[1]. Vbi uoluntaria distributio praedicatur, non potest uideri condicio seruitutis. In creatura enim seruitus intellegenda est; in Trinitate uero dominatio et libertas. Ergo si illud quod dictum est in psalmo *omnia seruiunt tibi*[2] ad creaturas pertineat et non ad Spiritum sanctum, hoc quoque dictum, *omnia per ipsum facta sunt*[3], non Spiritum sanctum inter omnia concludit; quia non ex aliqua materia aut ex nihilo factus legitur, qui de Patre processit.

5. Sufficit itaque fidelibus hoc scire quia Filius quidem genitus est, Spiritus autem de Patre procedens est: et ipsis utamur uerbis quibus uti diuina Scriptura nos uoluit. Qui autem diligat uitam, et uitae nouerit auctorem, et trium nominum socio honore suscepit in baptismo sacramentum, nec iam illic terminum quaerat, ubi certum habet non fuisse principium. Credimus ergo Spiritum sanctum Paraclitum de Patre procedere: esse autem non Filium, neque Filium Filii, quod solent stulti conquirere; sed Spiritum ueritatis, cuius processio aut qualis aut quanta sit, nulli conceditur scire. Nam de incomprehensibilitate ipsius Spiritus Dominus quoque in euangelio dixit: *Quia Spiritus ubi uult spirat, et uocem eius audis, sed nescis unde ueniat uel quo uadat*[4]. Hunc Spiritum nouimus in persona esse propria et uera; fontem sanctificationis, lumen animarum, diuisorem gratiarum. Hic Spiritus sancti-

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 11. [2] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 91. [3] Io. i. 3. [4] Io. iii. 8.

4 conditio CV 7 pertinet V 8 *om* hoc...9 sanctum C 9 non] nec V 11 procedit V 14 scripturas C 15 diligat C *seq. duo litt. ras.*, diligit V || nouit V 16 nomines octo C || suscipit C 17 baptismi sacramento V || quaerit V 18 habet] erat V || principium + in quo credidit V 20 Fili Filium C 21 stulta V, stulte *Mai* || sed S.] de Spiritu C 26 uel] aut V 27 uera] uitae C

ficat, non sanctificatur; inluminat, non inluminatur: nec ulla creatura sine hoc Spiritu aut ad aeternitatem peruenire, aut uere sancta poterit nominari. Audeo dicere; templum ipsum Domini, id est corpus quod accepit de uirgine, certe ipso Spiritu instructum est. Vt dixit Gabriel angelus ad Mariam: *Spiritus sanctus ueniet in te,* [*et uirtus Altissimi obumbrabit te; ideoque*] *quod nascetur* [*ex te*], *de Spiritu sancto est*[1]. Ecce ipsum templum in quo uerbum Dominus habitauit, inuenimus ab Spiritu sanctificatum. Et licet dicat ipse Dominus de se, *Quem Pater sanctificauit et misit in hunc mundum*[2]*;* et *pro illis me ego sanctifico*[3]. Potens est enim Filius Dei et suum corpus et omnia sanctificare; tamen ut uirtutem et proprietatem sancti Spiritus saeculo manifestaret, tempore baptismatis in specie columbae ipse in suum corpus recepit Spiritum sanctum, ut uere secundum apostoli dictum *omnis* in eo habitaret *corporaliter plenitudo diuinitatis*[4]. De qua plenitudine postmodum accipiunt apostoli *gratiam pro gratia*[5], ipso inspirante Domino in faciem apostolorum, et dicente: *Accipite Spiritum sanctum; si cuius peccata dimiseritis, dimissa erunt; si cuius tenueritis, tenebuntur*[6]. Et cum scriptum sit: *Quis poterit peccata dimittere nisi solus Deus?*[7] ecce apostoli in Spiritu potestatis peccata dimittere perhibentur, et Dominus in euangelio dixit mulieri: *Remissa sunt tibi*

[1] Luc. i. 35; Matt. i. 20. [2] Io. x. 36. [3] Io. xvii. 19. [4] Col. ii. 9. [5] Io. i. 16. [6] Io. xx. 22. [7] Luc. v. 21.

1 illuminat V 3 Audeo dicere] ideo dicitur C 4 de] ex V 5 *om* certe C || introductum C || Et V 6 *om* Gabriel C 7 *om* et uirtus...ideoque C 8 *om* ex te C 9 Domini V 11 pro...sanctifico] iterum V 12 Potest V 14 manifestare et V 15 speciae C 16 recipit C 17 > p. d. corporaliter V 21 cui C 23 *om* solus C 24 Spiritu potestatis C, Christus potestate V || *om* et...peccata V

2. Cf. *de Symb.* c. 7: 'Sine cuius operatione nulla potest creatura ad aeternitatem peruenire.'

peccata[1]. Cognita est itaque quanta sit significatio Spiritus, ubi Dominico ipsi corpori adcommodata monstratur: cognita est et potestas Spiritus, cum peccata dimittit.

6. Veniamus ergo ad ceteras eius uirtutes et opera, ut quid et quantus sit Spiritus sanctus possit agnosci. Sicut enim Pater et Filius non nisi per opera agnoscuntur, ut ipse Dominus ait, *uel operibus meis credite*[2]; ita et Spiritus sanctus, nisi per operum insignia, quid sit non potest plenius sciri. Nemo itaque anxietur cum de Spiritu sancto uirtutum capitula proferimus; nemo aures claudat cum diuina uerba recitantur: plus debet credi caelestibus testimoniis, quam terrenis figmentis. Quid ergo est quod uolumus? adsignare Dominicam sine dubio traditionem. Si enim in nomine Patris et Filii non sine Spiritu sancto renascimur, non sine Spiritu sancto sanctificamur, atque ad aeternitatem proficiscimur; cupimus ostendere quia non solum in baptismo, sed etiam in aliis omnibus cum Patre et Filio Spiritus sanctus et operatus est et semper operatur.

7. Quamquam sufficeret hoc solum, quod in baptismi sacramento cooperarius inuenitur; quia ex hoc et alia intellegantur non sine Spiritu esse creata. Quale est reuera, ut renouatio quidem et reparatio hominis cum Spiritu fiat, figuratio autem hominis et creatio sine Spiritu facta credatur? An dubium est alieni, plus esse baptismi sacramentum, quam ipsa exordia creaturae?

[1] Luc. vii. 48. [2] Io. x. 36.

2 accommodata V 5 caeteras C 7 nisi V || agnoscitur C 8 *om* meis C 10 scire C || anxiet V 11 Spiritus sancti uirtute V 12 debent credere coelestia testimonia quam terrena figmenta V 14 ad signa Dominica V 15 tradicionem C 16 *om* non...sanctificamur C 20 *om* et 1° V || operetur V 22 cooperius C, cooperatus V 23 intelliguntur V || Qualis C 24 *om* ut V 25 Spiritu...hominis *sup. lin.* C || *om* autem C 26 facta] esse V

quia in baptismo aeternitas perficitur, in exordio autem mors regnauit ab Adam. Audiamus ergo Dauid de creatione prophetantem: *Verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum*[1]. Verbum hoc utique Filius intellegendus est, secundum Iohannis praeconium *per quem facta sunt omnia*[2]. Spiritus autem oris non alius est, nisi iste qui creditur sanctus. Habes utique in uno uersiculo Dominum, et uerbum Domini, et Spiritum sanctum Trinitatis adimpleturum mysterium. Quod si uerbum hoc, per quod caeli firmati sunt, aliquis inprudenter iussionem interpretari uoluerit, Spiritum aeque aera solubilem dixerit, paulatim in Iudaismum cadet necesse est, quia nec Photinus nec Iudaei per uerbum substantiuum uel per Spiritum concedunt esse aliquid procreatum.

8. Sed dices: 'De Verbo quidem manifestatum est quod creauerit; quid de Spiritu?' Accipe aliud testimonium iustissimi illius et antiquissimi Iob. *Spiritus*, inquit, *diuinus qui fecit me*[3]. Et Dauid psallens dicit ad Deum: *Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur*, *et renouabis faciem terrae*[4]. Si creatio et renouatio per Spiritum erit, sine dubio et principium creationis sine Spiritu non fuit. Sed solent ii, qui ueritati resistunt, argute Spiritus uocabulum et personam ad Filium conuertere, sicubi creator Spiritus inuenitur; quia et Filius Spiritus est, sicut et Pater Spiritus est. Quod utique non est credendum prauae argumentationi, uel ex hoc ipso

[1] Ps. xxxiii. (xxxii.) 6. [2] Io. i. 3. [3] Iob xxxiii. 4. [4] Ps. ciii. 30.

2 dauit C *et alibi* 5 *om* hoc C || Ioannis V *et alibi* 6 >omnia f. s. V 7 *om* est C || *om* Habes...mysterium C 10 *om* per C 11 impudenter V || iussionem] uisionem V 12 aera] rem C 13 cadat V, + necesse est V || fotinus C 14 iudei C || uel per] et V 19 qui f. me] facit C 21 Si *sup. ras.* C 23 hii CV 26 *om* est 2° V 27 argumentationis C

17. Accipe] Cf. *de Symb.* c. 12.

quia Dauid et uerbum Domini dixit, quod est Filius; et Spiritum nihilominus praedicauit, qui est sanctus: uerbum quidem firmans caelos, Spiritum autem omnem uirtutem eorum, hoc est ornatum. Aut credant ergo qui haec legunt; aut si nolunt credere, ut quid etiam legunt? Ne quis enim putet hanc credulitatem ad Dei Patris contumeliam pertinere, cum potius ad gloriam spectet; si eius uerbum cuius ipse est Pater, aut eius Spiritus cuius ipse est auctor, creasse omnia referatur: ipse enim Pater creat omnia, cum uerbum eius creant et Spiritus eius.

9. Post creationem igitur ostendamus quia uiuificat Trinitas. Et quidem de persona Patris refert apostolus: *Testor coram Deo qui uiuificat omnia*[1]. Vitam uero dat Christus: *Oues*, inquit, *meae uocem meam audiunt; et ego uitam aeternam do illis*[2]. Viuificamur uero per Spiritum, ipso Domino dicente, *Spiritus est qui uiuificat*[3]. Similiter et Paulus ad Romanos: *Qui suscitauit Christum a mortuis, uiuificabit et mortalia corpora uestra, propter inhabitantem Spiritum eius in uobis*[4]. Ecce una uiuificatio Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti aperte monstrata est.

10. Praescientia omnium rerum in Deo est, et occultorum cognitor est. Licet nemo Christianus ignoret, tamen ex Danielis libro monstrandum est. *Deus*, inquit,

[1] 1 Tim. v. 21; vi. 13. [2] Io. x. 27. [3] Io. vi. 64.
[4] Rom. viii. 11.

3 omnes uirtutes C 4 *om* h. e. ornatum C || ornatuum V || ergo] enim C 5 ut quid etiam] quid et V 6 enim] autem V 7 exspectet V 8 *om* est V || *om* aut C 9 >auctor est V 10 *om* Pater V || creat] erat V 11 *om* eius V 13 equidem C 16 dabo eis u. aet. V 18 *om* et C || Christum] Spiritum C 19 uiuificauit CV 22 rerum] uerum C || est] esse C 23 c. est] cognitorem C

6. **credulitatem**] This word is used as a synonym for *fides* in *de Symb.* c. 2. Braida (§ 264) discusses its use in contemporary writers, e.g. Chrysologus *Serm.* 60: 'credulitatem parturit fides.'

qui occultorum cognitor es, qui prospicis omnia ante quam nascantur[1]. Haec eadem praescientia in Christo est, referente euangelista: *Ab initio*, inquit, *sciebat Iesus quis esset eum traditurus, uel qui essent non credentes*[2]. Quod sit autem occultorum cognitor, ex hoc manifestum est, cum obscura consilia Iudaeorum traducens dicebat: *Quid cogitatis nequam in cordibus uestris?*[3]

11. Similiter praescire omnia Spiritum, Deus manifestauit dicens ad apostolos: *Cum uenerit Spiritus ueritatis docebit uos omnia, et uentura adnuntiabit uobis*[4]. Qui uentura adnuntiare perhibetur, puto praescire omnia non dubitabitur, quia ipse *scrutatur altitudines Dei*[5], et nouit omnia quae sunt Dei. Nec non et reuelat Dei sacramenta; testatur Daniel: *Ipse*, ait, *Deus deorum, et rex regum, qui sacramenta reuelat*[6]. Reuelantur enim omnia per Christum, sicut ipse ait: *Nemo nouit Patrem nisi Filius et cui uoluerit Filius reuelare*[7]. Omnis uero in Spiritu reuelatio est; testatur Paulus: *Nobis*, inquit, *reuelauit Deus per Spiritum sanctum suum*[8]. Ecce est reuelatio una Trinitatis Dei.

12. Quod ubique est praesens, et implet omnia, ore dicimus Esaiae: *Ego*, inquit, *Deus adproximans, et non Deus de longinquo. Si absconditus fuerit homo in absconditis, ego ergo non uidebo eum? nonne caelum et terram*

[1] Dan. xiii. 42. [2] Io. vi. 64. [3] Matt. ix. 4.
[4] Io. xvi. 13. [5] 1 Cor. ii. 10. [6] Dan. ii. 47.
[7] Luc. x. 22. [8] 1 Cor. ii. 10.

1 perspicis C 3 referente] dicente V || *om* Iesus C 5 manifestatum V 6 *om* cum C || traducens] manifestans V 10 annuntiabit V 11 praescire] quod scire C 12 dubitatur C || scruptatur V 13 *om* Nec non C 14 > sacramenta r. D. V || Daniel + dicens V || Ipse est V 15 *om* enim V 20 unius Trinitatis Deus V 21 est] sit V || impleat V || *om* ore V 22 dicente Esaia V || approximans V || *om* non V 24 ego ergo] ego ego C, numquid V || nonne] non C

11. puto] Cf. *de Symb.* c. 12.

ego impleo?[1] Quid autem de sua praesentia ubique Saluator Christus in euangelio dicit? *Vbicumque*, ait, *fuerint duo uel tres in nomine meo, ibi et ego sum in medio eorum*[2]. De plenitudine autem eius apostolus refert: *Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos ut adimpleret omnia*[3]. De Spiritu aeque sancto quod adsit ubique, dicit propheta ex persona Dei: *Ego in uobis, et Spiritus meus stat in medio uestrum*[4]. Et Salomon ait: *Spiritus Dei repleuit orbem terrarum*[5]. Habitat Deus in sanctis suis, secundum promissionem quam dixerat: *Habitabo in illis et inter eos ambulabo*[6]. Quid uero Dominus in euangelio dicit? *Manete in me et ego in uobis*[7]. Probat autem hoc Paulus: *Nescitis quia Iesus Christus in uobis est?*[8] Haec autem in Spiritu habitatio adimpletur, sicut memorat Iohannes: *Ex hoc*, inquit, *scimus quod in nobis est, quia de Spiritu suo dedit nobis*[9]. Similiter et Paulus: *Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in uobis?*[10] Et mox dicit: *Glorificate et portate Deum in corpore uestro*[11].

13. Nam quod arguat Pater, arguat et Filius, arguat etiam et Spiritus sanctus, ita probandum est. In Psalmo XLVIIII legitur: *Peccatori autem dixit Deus, Quare tu enarras iustitias meas?*[12] Et infra: *Arguam te et statuam illam contra faciem tuam*[13]. Dauid aeque orans

[1] Ierem. xxiii. 23, 24. [2] Matt. xviii. 20. [3] Eph. iv. 10.
[4] Agg. ii. 4, 5. [5] Sap. i. 7. [6] Leuit. xxvi. 12.
[7] Io. xv. 4. [8] 2 Cor. xiii. 5. [9] 1 Io. iii. 24.
[10] 1 Cor. iii. 16. [11] 1 Cor. vi. 20. [12] Ps. xlix. 16.
[13] ib. 21.

1 qui ubique? Et V 2 *om* ait V 4 ipsorum V || *om* autem C 5 *om* et C 7 Domini V 9 Domini V 10 promisionem C 11 inter eos a.] inambulabo V 13 *om* Probat... 14 est C || Haec] Hoc V 15 totum in Spiritus habitatione V || Ioannes V 16 quod] quia V || *om* quia V 17 suo + quem V || et + idem V 20 Nam + et C || *om* arguat 3° C 22 *om* Deus...meas C

dicit ad Dominum: *Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me*[1]. Quia ipse uenturus est arguere omnem carnem. Quid uere de Spiritu sancto Saluator dixit in euangelio? *Cum uenerit*, inquit, *Paraclitus ille, arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio*[2]. Hoc prouidens Dauid clamabat ad Dominum: *Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo, et quo a facie tua fugiam?*[3] Quod sit autem unum id iudicium a Deo per Christum futurum, Paulus ostendit apostolus: *Cum iudicabit*, inquit, *Deus occulta hominum per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum*[4]. Et Spiritus iudicat Antichristum, sicut refert idem apostolus, cum de persona eius Antichristi loqueretur: *Quem interficiet*, ait, *Dominus Iesus Spiritu oris sui*[5]. Si Antichristus Spiritu oris Domini interficitur, ergo et omnis creatura Spiritu iudicabitur, sicut et Salomon testatur: *Contra illos stabit Spiritus uirtutis, et tamquam turbido uenti diuidet eos*[6].

14. Nam et quod bonus Pater, bonus Filius, bonus Spiritus sanctus, sicut probatur. De Patre quidem dicit ipse Vnigenitus in euangelio: *Nemo bonus nisi unus Deus*[7]. De se autem: *Ego sum pastor bonus*[8]. De Spiritu aeque sancto Dauid psallens dicit ad Dominum: *Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam*[9]. Et sicut dicitur de Filio: *rectum est uerbum Domini*[10], sic et de Spiritu dicitur: *Spiritum rectum innoua in uisceribus meis*[11].

[1] Ps. vi. 2. [2] Io. xvi. 8. [3] Ps. cxxxviii. 7.
[4] Rom. ii. 16. [5] 2 Thess. ii. 8. [6] Sap. v. 24.
[7] Matt. xix. 17. [8] Io. x. 11. [9] Ps. cxlii. 10.
[10] Ps. xxxii. 4. [11] Ps. l. 12.

1 Dominum] Deum V   2 quia] *pr* Et V   3 *om* dixit V   6 Deum V || *om* quo 1° V   7 id] in C, *om* V || a Deo] ad eum V   8 Paulus] *pr* beatus V || *om* apostolus V   9 iudicauit C   10 Et quia Spiritus sanctus iudicaturus est Antichristum, dicente Paulo, cum V || Antichristus C   11 *om* Antichristi V   15 dicente Salomone V || stabit] statuet V   16 turbo V   18 sicut] sic V || dixit V   19 *om* ipse V   21 *om* sancto V || sallens C || *om* ad Dominum V   22 terram C *cum mss. gr.* ART] uiam V

15. Quis autem illam dignitatem Spiritus sancti possit tacere? Antiqui enim prophetae clamabant: *Haec dicit Dominus.* Hanc uocem Christus adueniens in suam personam reuocauit dicens: *Et ego dico uobis.* Noui autem prophetae quid clamabant? Sicut Agabus prophetans in Actis apostolorum ait: *Haec dicit Spiritus sanctus*[1]. Et ipse Paulus ad Timotheum *Spiritus manifeste dicit*[2]. Et Paulus quidem dicit se a Deo Patre et a Christo uocatum et missum. *Paulus*, inquit, *apostolus, non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum et Deum Patrem*[3]. In Actis uere apostolorum legitur quod a Spiritu sancto segregatus et missus. Sic enim scriptum est: *Et dicit Spiritus sanctus, Segregate mihi Barnaban et Paulum ad opus quod uocaui eos*[4]. Et paulo post: *Ipsi*, inquit, *missi a Spiritu sancto descenderunt Seleuciam*[5].

16. Nequis autem Spiritum sanctum quia Paraclitus dicitur contemptibile aliquid existimet; Paraclitus enim aduocatus est uel consolator secundum latinam linguam; quae appellatio enim Filio Dei communis est, sicut docet Iohannes: *Haec*, inquit, *scribo uobis ne peccetis. Quod si peccaueritis, Paraclitum habemus apud Patrem Iesum Christum iustum*[6]. Nam et ipse Dominus cum dicit ad apostolos *alterum aduocatum mittet uobis Pater*[7], sine dubio cum alium Paraclitum nominat, se quoque

[1] Act. xxi. 11. [2] 1 Tim. iv. 1. [3] Gal. i. 1.
[4] Act. xiii. 2. [5] ib. 4. [6] 1 Io. ii. 1.
[7] Io. xiv. 16.

4 > reuocauit p. V || *om* Et C 5 quid] qui C || clamant V 6 Actibus V 7 Thimotheum V 8 Paulus q. d.] iterum V 9 *om* a C || *om* inquit V 12 a] ab C 13 dixit C 14 Barnabam V || ad] in V || quo V 15 inquit] autem V || a] ab C 16 Seleutiam C 18 contemptibilia V || quid aestimet V 19 siue consolator est V 20 enim] etiam V 22 quis peccauerit V || paracletum C *et alibi* 25 se] sic V

Paraclitum manifestat. Sed nec a Patre hoc nomen Paracliti alienum est: beneficii enim nomen est, non naturae. Paulus denique ad Corinthios ita scribit: *Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi; Pater misericordiarum et Deus omnis consolationis, qui nos consolatur*[1]*;* quod Graece dicitur, *καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως*. Et cum consolator dicitur Pater, consolator Filius, consolator etiam Spiritus sanctus, una tamen nobis consolatio Trinitatis praestatur, sicut et una remissio peccatorum apostolo adfirmante: *Abluti*, inquit, *estis et sanctificati et iustificati in nomine Domini Iesu Christi et in Spiritu Dei nostri*[2].

17. Sed forte haec mitia et bona non excitant animum ad intellegendam potentiam Spiritus sancti; pauca de terribilibus proferamus. Vendiderat *possessionem* Annanias, sicut scriptum est in Actis apostolorum, suppressamque partem pecuniae dolosus discipulus sibi reseruauerat; reliquam pro tota ante pedes deposuit *apostolorum.* Offendit Spiritum sanctum, quem putauerat se latere. Sed quid ad eum continuo beatus Petrus? *Annania, quare Satanas impleuit cor tuum, mentiri te Spiritui sancto?*[3] Et statim ait: *Non es mentitus hominibus, sed Deo.* Atque ita percussus uirtute

[1] 2 Cor. i. 3. [2] 1 Cor. vi. 11. [3] Act. v. 3.

2 beneficentiae V 3 corintheos C || *om* ita V 5 omnis] totius V 6 > consolatur nos V, consolator C* || *om* quod...παρακλήσεως C, *om uerba Graeca relicto spatio uacuo* V 8 Filius] *pr* et V || etiam] et V 10 affirmante V || Abluti] *pr* sed V 11 iustificati + estis V 13 forsitan V 14 Spiritu C 16 ananias V || Actibus CV 17 subtraxerat ex ea parte peccuniae C 18 *om* sibi reseruauerat C || totam C || deposuit V 20 beatissimus V 21 Sathanas V 22 es] est C

6. Niceta's knowledge of Greek enabled him to quote Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures at first hand, and a sermon of S. Basil. But this is the only instance in which he explicitly quotes the Greek Testament.

eius, cui mentiri uoluerat, expirauit. Quid hic uult beatus Petrus intellegi Spiritum sanctum? Vtique clarum est cum dicit: *Non es mentitus hominibus, sed Deo.* Manifestum est ergo quoniam qui mentitur Spiritui sancto, Deo mentitur; et qui credit in Spiritum sanctum, credit in Deum. Sic etiam uxor Annaniae, quae in mendacio fuerat conscia, et in morte facta est socia. Tale aliquid, immo fortius, quiddam Dominus in euangelio praeostendit dicens: *Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittentur hominibus; qui autem dixerit blasphemiam in Spiritum sanctum non remittetur ei neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro*[1]. Ecce terribilis sententia! inremissibile dicit esse peccatum ei qui in Spiritu sancto blasphemauerit. Compara huic sententiae illud quod scriptum est in Regnorum libro: *Si peccando peccauerit uir in uiro, orabunt pro eo; si autem in Deo quis peccauerit, quis orabit pro eo?*[2] Si ergo blasphemiae Spiritus et peccare in Deo simile atque idem inexpiabile crimen est, iam quid sit Spiritus sanctus incipit intellegentibus relucere.

18. Possem plura de diuinis scripturis proferre tes-

[1] Matt. xii. 32; Marc. iii. 28. [2] 1 Reg. ii. 25.

2 Vtique] *pr* Et V 5 *om* Spiritui...mentitur C || *om* in C 6 *om* Sic...8 socia C 8 Tali C || in e. ostendit Dominus V 9 omnia C || plasphemia C, blasphemiae V 12 irremissibile V 14 *om* Compara...15 peccauerit C 16 uirum V || Deum V || *om* quis V 17 orauit C || Si...relucere] Ergo quia peccare in Spiritum sanctum et peccare in Deum idem inexpiabile crimen est; iam aduertere poterunt quanta sit Spiritus sancti maiestas; in quem si quis rebellis extiterit in perpetuas poenas trudetur V

13. in Spiritu sancto] This use of the ablative side by side with the accusative finds a parallel in the Aquileian Creed: 'Credo in Deo, in Christo, in Spiritu sancto.' Niceta begins (*de Symb.* c. 1) with the words: 'Qui credit in Christo.' No definite argument can be founded on his practice, though it is probable that in Creed forms the ablatives were used to emphasize the equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son.

timonia, quae secundum baptismi sacramentum, Trinitatem unius operationis ac potentiae manifestarent. Sed quia et in his plenus est sapientibus intellectus, multa praetereo. Faciam itaque capitulationem dictorum: si de Patre procedit Spiritus sanctus; si liberat; si sanctificat; si Dominus est, ut dixit apostolus; si creat cum Patre et Filio; si uiuificat; si praescientiam habet, sicut Pater et Filius; si reuelat; si ubique est; si adimplet orbem terrarum; si habitat in electis; si arguit mundum; si iudicat; si bonus est et rectus; si de eo clamatur, *Haec dicit Spiritus sanctus*; si prophetas constituit; si apostolos misit; si consolator est; si abluit et iustificat; si [illegible] interficit; si is qui eum blasphemauerit, non habet remissionem neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro, quod utique Deo proprium est; si haec ita sint, immo quia uera sunt, quid a me quaeritur ut dicam quid sit Spiritus sanctus, cum per operum magnitudinem quod est ipse se manifestet? Non utique alienus est a Patris et Filii maiestate, qui non est ab operum uirtute alienus: frustra illi nomen diuinitatis negatur, cuius potestas non potest abnegari: frustra prohibeor eum cum Patre et Filio uenerari, quem confiteri cum Patre et Filio ipsa ueritate compellor. Si ille mihi cum Patre et Filio confert remissionem peccatorum, confert sanctificationem et uitam perpetuam, ingratus sum nimis si non ei cum Patre et Filio referam gloriam. Aut si non est cum

4 recapitulationem V || dicitorum C, dicturus V 8 sicut + habet V 9 electis] excelsis V 10 arguet V || si rectus est V 11 prophaeti[illegible] *alibi* 12 mittit V 14 qui + in *Mai* || eum] cum V || blasphem[illegible] C || habent C 16 *om* sint...uera C 17 quid] quod C 18 *om* per C || manifestat V 19 alienum esse C || maiestate] sanctitate V 23 ipsa ueritate compellor] exigor C 26 aeternam V || sum] ero V || nimis + et impius V 27 > colendus cum Patre V

11. Cf. *de Symb.* c. 7: 'Prophetas constituit.'

Patre colendus et Filio, ergo nec confitendus est in baptismate. Si autem omni modo confitendus est, secundum dictum Domini et traditionem apostolorum, ne semiplena sit fides; quis me poterit ab eius religione cohibere? In quem enim credere iubeor, ei etiam debite supplicabo.

19. Adorabo ergo Patrem, adorabo Filium, adorabo Spiritum sanctum, una eademque ueneratione. Quod si quis durum hoc putat, audiat quomodo Dauid ad culturam Dei fideles hortatur: *Adorate*, inquit, *scabellum pedum eius*[1]. Si scabellum pedum eius religionis est adorari; quanto magis religiosum est adorare, si eius Spiritus adoretur? ille utique Spiritus quem beatus Paulus in tanta sublimitate praedicauit dicens: *Euangelizauerunt uobis Spiritum sanctum missum de caelis, in quem concupiscunt angeli prospicere*[2]. Si angeli eum cupiunt aspicere, quanto magis nos homines mortales contemnere non debemus? ne forte et nobis dicatur sicut dictum est ad Iudaeos: *Vos semper restitistis Spiritui sancto, sicut et patres uestri*[3].

20. Quod si haec tanta ac talia non inclinant animum ad uenerandum Spiritum sanctum, accipe adhuc aliquid fortius. Sic enim Paulus instruit prophetas ecclesiae, in quibus utique et per quos Spiritus ipse sanctus loquebatur: *Si*, inquit, *omnes prophetauerint, intret aliquis infidelis uel idiota, conuincitur ab omnibus, examinatur ab omnibus, occulta quoque cordis eius manifesta*

[1] Ps. xcviii. 5. [2] 1 Pet. i. 12. [3] Act. vii. 51.

1 baptismo est C 4 fides]+et imperfecta V || religione]+et ueneratione V 5 *om* credere V || iubeo V || debite] dubie V, deuote *Mai* 6 ergo] ego C 7 uenerationem C 8 audiant V 9 hortetur V 10 eius]+quoniam sanctum est V || eius 2°] Domini V 11 est adorare] erit V 14 coelo V 15 *om* Si...16 aspicere C 17 contempnere V || nobis] *pr* de V 18 iudeos C || >Spiritui sancto restitistis V 23 >ipse Spiritus V || *om* sanctus V 24 *om* Si C || prophetent V 25 uel] aut V 26 quoque] etiam V

fiunt. Et tunc cadens in faciem adorabit Deum, pronuntians quia uere Deus est in uobis[1]. Et utique in eis Spiritus sanctus qui prophetant. Si ergo infideles cadunt in faciem adorantes Spiritum sanctum, adorant perterriti, et confitentur inuiti ex operum magnitudine, id est abundantia gratiae spiritalis; quanto magis fidelibus expedit, uoluntarie et ex adfectu adorent Spiritum sanctum!

21. Adoratur autem Spiritus non quasi separatim more gentilium; sicut nec Filius separatim adoratur, qui in dextra Patris est; sed cum adoremus Patrem, credimus quia et Filium et Spiritum sanctum pariter adoramus: quia et cum Filium inuocamus Patrem nos credimus inuocare: et cum Patrem rogamus, a Filio nos credimus exaudiri, sicut ipse Dominus pollicetur: *Quicquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, ego faciam; ut honorificetur Pater in Filio*[2]. Sic et cum Spiritus adoratur, ille utique adoratur cuius est Spiritus.

22. Illud autem nullus ignorat, quod diuinae maiestati nec addi quicquam nec minui humanis supplicationibus potest: sed unusquisque secundum propositum uoluntatis suae aut gloriam sibi adquirit fideliter uenerando, aut confusionem pertinaciter resistendo. Certum est enim quia contentio et superbia damnat; honorificentia fructum deuotionis expectat. Quare autem fideles non honorificent integre Trinitatem, ad quam se perti-

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 24. [2] Io. xiv. 13.

1 adorauit C || *om* Deum C 2 nobis V || Vtique Spiritum sanctum intelligi uoluit qui in prophetis loquebatur V 3 prophaetant C || cadent C 4 adorantes] et adorant V 5 *om* ex...spiritalis C, spiritualis V 7 expendit uoluntarie ex C || affectu V || adorare V 10 *om* more...separatim C 11 qui] quia V || sed] *pr* ut C || adoramus V 12 quia] nos fideliter V 13 adorare V 16 Quidquid V || a Patre V 20 humani C 22 acquirit V 24 quia] + et V || dampnationem generant V 26 *om* se V

nere confidunt, cuius nomine renatos se credunt, cuius uocabulo se nominari gloriantur? Sicut et ad nomen Dei Patris homines Dei appellantur, ut Helias homo Dei dictus est, et Moyses homo Dei, ut Timotheus a Paulo homo Dei appellatus est; sic a Christo Christiani nuncupantur; sic etiam a Spiritu spiritales appellantur. Si igitur uoceris homo Dei, et non fueris Christianus, nihil es. Aeque si Christianus diceris, et non fueris spiritalis, ne tibi satis de salute confidas. Sit ergo secundum salutaris baptismi confessionem, fides integra Trinitatis, sit una deuotio pietatis: nec, more gentilium, potestatum diuersitates opinemur, aut creaturam in Trinitate suspicemur. Sed nec Iudaeorum scandalo subcumbamus, qui Filium Dei negant, qui Spiritum non adorant; sed potius perfectam Trinitatem adorantes et magnificantes, sicut in mysteriis ore nostro dicimus, ita conscientiam teneamus: *unus sanctus*, utique Spiritus, *unus Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris*, *Amen*, quia una est religio Trinitatis. Et deinceps pacem et dilectionem

1 > se renatos V || *om* credunt V 2 Sicut et] Nam sicut V || a nomine *Mai* 4 *om* dictus...Dei 1° C || > h. D. a Paulo V 5 sic] si C 6 spirituales V *et alibi* 7 fuerit C 8 es] est C || dicaris V 9 Sit] si C || ergo + nobis V *Vig. Taps.* 10 baptisma saluatoris confessio V || integrae V 11 *om* sit V 12 aut...adorant *om Vig. Taps.* 13 succumbamus V 15 *om* et magnificantes C 16 dicimus + Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth V *Vig. Taps.* || conscientia *Vig. Taps.* 17 teneamus + et illud V, + Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens: Ter dicens, sanctus, unam omnipotentiam confiteris. Vel illud Apostoli *unus Spiritus Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris.* Christus in gloria Dei Patris. Vnum Amen *Vig. Taps.* || *om* unus 2° C || Dominus] Deus V 18 Amen] *pr* una V || religio] + una glorificatio *Vig. Taps.* 19 dilectionemque *Vig. Taps.*

17. **unus sanctus**] This is a quotation from the ℟ to the *Sancta sanctis*—*εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός...Ἀμήν.* Its omission from later Western liturgies explains the alteration of this passage in the recension represented by V. The editor did not recognise it, so inserted a reference to the *Sanctus*. *Vid.* p. xcvi.

sectantes bonis semper operibus abundemus: ut audiamus ab apostolo, sicut audierunt Corinthii in secunda epistola: *Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et caritas Dei, et communicatio sancti Spiritus, cum omnibus uobis. Amen*[1].

[1] 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

1 *om* bonis *Vig. Taps.* || semper + nouis *Vig. Taps.* || abundamus C || ut] et V 2 *om* sicut...epistola *Vig. Taps.* || Corinthi C || secunda] prima V 3 *om* epistola C || caritas Dei] dilectio V *Vig. Taps.* 4 > Spiritus sancti *Vig. Taps.* || cum] *pr* erit V

Libellus Quartus

[Descripsit Gennadius: 'aduersus genethliologiam.']

Libellus Quintus de Symbolo

I.

B = British Museum Royal 7 C II. Saec. xi ex.
C = Cod. Chisianus A vi 184. Saec. xiv.

II.

F = Cod. Sancti Floriani 74. Saec. xi.
G = Cod. Cotuicensis 97. Saec. xii.
H = Cod. Sanctae Crucis 122. Saec. xii.
K = Cod. Cremifanensis 313. Saec. xi ex.
M = Cod. Monacensis lat. 5916. Saec. xv.
V = Cod. Vindobonensis 768. Saec. xii.
Alc. = Alcuini (?) Confessio fidei.

1. Qui credit in Christo et sequitur eum ad ueram ducentem uitam, sicuti Israelis populus Moysen secutus

Expositio symboli B Eplancio symboli beati Nicete Aquileiensis episcopi habita ad competentes C Expositio Origenis FGHKMV

6. **Christo**] Cf. *De Sp. s. pot.* 17: 'in Spiritu sancto blasphemauerit.'

terram repromissionis ingressus est, hic confidens, duce Christo, abrenuntiat inimico et angelis eius id est uniuersae magicae curiositati, quae constat per angelos Satanae. Deinde renuntiat et operibus eius malis id est culturis et idolis, sortibus et auguriis, pompis et theatris, furtis et fraudibus, fornicationibus et ebrietatibus, choris atque mendaciis. Haec sunt et alia, fratres, quae uos a Domino separabant et diabolo copulabant. Haec sunt uincula serpentina, quae stringunt animas hominum et ad inferni carcerem ducunt. His ergo malis se homo expediens has catenas post dorsum suum ueluti in faciem proiciens inimici iam sincera uoce pronuntiat:

2. CREDO IN DEVM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM, CREATOREM CAELI ET TERRAE. Bene incipit a credulitate confessio, quia sic et beatus Paulus expressit: *Corde*, inquit, *creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem*[1]. Credis ergo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Deum ingenitum, qui ortus a nullo est, a nullo coepit, deum inuisibilem, quem nullus carnis oculus uidere sufficit, Deum incomprehensibilem, qui omnia comprehendit, Deum inmutabilem, qui non mutatur temporibus, nec senescit aetate, sed semper idem est, qui non in

[1] Rom. x. 10.

1 *om* est C 2 id est] et C 3 curiositatis C 4 Sathanae BC || *om* et C || id est] et C 5 culture C || *om* et 1° C 6 *om* furtis et fraudibus C || *om* et C 7 *om* fratres...9 uincula C 12 pronuntiat C 13 *om* creatorem caeli et terrae CFGHKMV 16 *om* inquit FV || iusticiam GHKV 17 Credis] crede FGHKM, Credo V Alc. || *om* ergo Alc. 18 est + et Alc. || caepit B, cepit C, concepit GH* (con *ras.* H), conceptus KV (concept' [= us] *ras. ut uid.* K) 19 > oculus carnalis FGHKM 20 sufficit] potest FGHKMV

5. culturis] Caspari reads *culturae* with C, and compares *De Sp. s. pot.* 19 'audiant quomodo Dauid ad culturam Dei fideles hortatur.' But the number of strange cults in that age gives a better meaning to the plural, which is found in Frag. iii (p. 54).

14. credulitate] Cf. *De Sp. s. pot.* 8: 'Ne quis enim putet, hanc credulitatem ad Dei Patris contumeliam pertinere.'

tempore coepit uiuere, sed semper uiuens nullum patitur successorem, Deum bonum et iustum, caeli et terrae creatorem. Hunc confiteris Deum, sed eundem confiteris et Patrem. Patrem Filii esse necesse est; nemo enim pater est sine filio. Pater ergo per Filium est, habens utique Filium, cuius sit Pater. Et haec est pia confessio in Deum, ut eum non solum Deum scias, sicut Iudaei, sed cognoscas et Patrem, 'Patrem uiuentis uerbi, uirtutis ac sapientiae propriae,' qui ante omnia saecula, ante omne principium, ante omne omnino tempus ex se genuit Filium, spiritus spiritum, Deus Deum, *in quo sunt condita uniuersa, quae in caelis et quae in terra, uisibilia et inuisibilia*[1], sicut docet Paulus et consignat Iohannes: *Omnia*, inquit, *per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil*[2].

[1] Col. i. 16. [2] Io. i. 3.

1 *om* sed B 2 Deum] *pr* et V (?) 3 Crede hunc confitere FGHKMV || confiteris] confitere FGHKMV 4 *om* esse B, esse *supr. lin.* V || est] esse V* 5 per] super FGHKMV 7 *om* sicut Iudaei C 8 sed + et M 9 sapientiae] scientiae (-ie F) GHKMV 10 omne 1°] omnium CGHKM, omnia V, omnia saecula ante omnia principium ante *in marg.* F || omne 2° *supr. lin.* V, *om* Cod. Cotu. 12 uisibilia] *pr* et V 14 inquid F, *om* inquit C || facta *supr. lin.* V || ipso] illo KGH || nichil FGHV

8. 'Patrem...propriae'] These words are a quotation from the second of two Old Latin translations of the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus:

GREGORY.	RUFINUS.	TRANS. II.
Εἷς Θεός, πατὴρ	Vnus deus, pater	Vnus deus principium, et *pater*
λόγου ζῶντος, σοφίας	uerbi uiuentis, sapientiae	*uerbi uiuentis, sapientiae*
ὑφεστώσης καὶ δυνάμεως	subsistentis et uirtutis	existentis et *uirtutis*
καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίου.	suae et figurae.	et imaginis *propriae.*

The reading *propriae* followed by Niceta, like the *suae* of Rufinus, points to a reading ἰδίου for ἀϊδίου in the Greek text. It is possible that Niceta translated directly from the Greek text. See note on *De Sp. s. pot.*, p. 32. Caspari questions whether the second Latin translation can have been from his pen.

9. Cf. Nicene Creed. The 3rd Sirmian Creed has: πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς πρὸ παντὸς ἐπινοουμένου χρόνου.

3. Credens ergo in Deum Patrem, statim te confiteberis credere ET IN FILIVM EIVS IESVM CHRISTVM. Hic est Filius Dei, Iesus Christus. Iesus quidem ex Hebraeorum lingua interpretatus, saluator intellegitur, Christus uero regiae dignitatis appellatio est ueluti saluator et rex, unus atque idem Iesus Christus. Hic propter nostram salutem descendit a Patre de caelis et simile nobis corpus accepit. NATVS EX SPIRITV SANCTO ET EX MARIA VIRGINE sine ulla uiri operatione. Corpus ex corpore Spiritus sancti uirtute generatum est. Manens Deus homo factus est, ut hominibus et uisui et doctrinae et saluti esse posset, quia aliter diuinitas ab hominibus sustineri non poterat nisi corporis adsumptione uisibilis.

4. Natus ergo ex sancta et incontaminata uirgine ut sanctae natiuitatis nobis praestaret initium. Natus est secundum quod ante dictum fuerat per prophetam: *Ecce uirgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et uocabis nomen eius Emmanuel*, quod est interpretatum: *nobiscum Deus*[1]. Crede ergo hunc, qui ex uirgine natus est, nobiscum esse Deum, Deum ante saecula de Patre,

[1] Matt. i. 23 (Is. vii. 14).

3 quidem] qui C* || *om* ex CM 4 *om* interpretatus B || intelligitur *codd* 5 uero] ergo H 7 >de caelis a Patre FGHKMV 8 accepit *supr. lin. sec. man.* V || natum FGHKMV || *om* ex 2° C || > uirgine Maria C 11 uisui] uisi K, usui FGHMV || *om* et 3° CK 12 possit FGHKMV, posset esse B 13 corporis] *pr* humani FGHKMV || assumptione *codd.* || uisibili HV 14 Natus + est FGHKM || sancta] sancte C 15 natiui B 16 *om* secundum M || > fuerat per prophetam dictum B 17 *om* et pariet FGHKMV 18 Emanuel BCGFHKM 20 saecula] *pr* omnia FG HKMV

4. Cf. *Tract. symboli* in *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Iesus ergo lingua Ebraeorum saluator interpretatur, Christus autem ad unguendum regale uocabulum trahit.'

10. Cf. *Tract. symboli* in *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Vt, qui manebat Dei Filius, ex sancta uirgine hominis filius nasceretur.'

19. Cf. *Tract. symb.* in *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Credo ergo et hunc, qui ex uirgine nascitur, nobiscum esse Deum, ante saecula genitum de patre, et hominem ex uirgine matre.'

hominem ex uirgine propter homines, uere incarnatum non putatiue, sicut quidam erronei haeretici, erubescentes mysterium Dei, in phantasmate dicunt factam Domini incarnationem, quasi non uere fuerit, quod uidebatur, sed oculos fefellerit hominum; quod absit omnino a Dei ueritate! Si enim falsa incarnatio est, falsa erit et salus hominibus. Quodsi uera in Christo est, aeque incarnatio est in ipso. Vtrumque existens: homo quod uidebatur, Deus quod non uidebatur. Manducans ut homo, et pascens quinque milia hominum quinque panibus quasi Deus. Sitiens ut homo, et aquam uitae tribuens quasi Deus. Dormiens ut homo in naui, sed uentis et mari imperans quasi Deus. Manus cruci affigens uelut homo, sed paradisum confitenti se latroni tribuens quasi Deus. Mortem postremo suscipiens, deposito ad modicum corpore ut homo, sed quatriduanum mortuum de sepulchro suscitans quasi Deus. Vtrumque ergo credendus est

1 in carne natum FGHKV 2 quidam] qui dicunt C || erronei] errant HKM, *supr. ras.* G, errant F 3 *om* Dei FGHKMV || fantasmate BMV || dom. incarnationem] incarn. Dei FGHKMV 4 > uere non CFGH KMV 5 sed + solum *ras.* M || oculos, oculus M] + falsa incarnatione in ipso F, + falsa in ipso V > || hominum] hominibus GHKV 6 et erit M 7 uera] uere salus C || aeque] *pr* uera C, > eque uera (F *supr. ras.*) GHKM, *om* aeque V 10 quasi] ut B 11 *om* sitiens...Deus C || aqua M 12 > in naui ut homo V 13 imperauit FGHKMV, uentis imperauit et mari M || *om* Deus M || *om* Manus...Deus FHKMV 14 > se confitenti B 15 *om* ad FGHKMV 16 mortuum] Lazarum B || resuscitans de sepulchro B, suscitat C

11. Sitiens ... deus] Caspari's doubts as to the genuineness of these words, omitted by *Cod. Chisianus*, would have been set at rest by he British Museum MS. had he known it. They have dropped out through *homoeoteleuton*, like some words in line 13, *manus...deus*, which are lacking in the Austrian MSS. In the latter case Caspari defended the genuineness of the reading in *Cod. Chisianus* by quoting a parallel from Niceta's *de rat. fidei* 6: 'Crux aeque, passio et sepultura uno uel altero dicto Domini discutiuntur, quominus ei impotentia uel infirmitas ascribatur.'

16. mortuum] B's reading *Lazarum* derives support from the parallel passage in the *de rat. fidei*, 6.

17. Vtrumque] Cf. *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Propterea ergo utrumque

Christus, et Deus et homo; quia sicut homo ex passionibus agnoscitur, ita Deus ex diuinis operibus manifestatur. Habes ergo unde respuas magistros fallaciae. Si quis tibi hominem tantummodo Christum fuisse in auribus susurrare temptauerit, dicito, quia eum qui homo propter peccata nostra factus est, Deum ex uirtutibus et professionibus iam cognoui, dicente ipso Saluatore ad Iudaeos: *Si mihi non uultis credere, uel operibus credite, et cognoscite, quia ego in Patre et Pater in me*[1].

5. Sequitur ut credas dominicae passioni, et passum confitearis Christum, crucifixum a Iudaeis, secundum praedicta prophetarum. Et uide ne erubescas in passione Domini tui. Si forte aliquid infidelitas Iudaeorum uel stultitia gentium de magnifica Christi cruce blasphemare uoluerit, memento semper dicti dominici: *Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confitebor eum coram Patre meo, qui est in caelis*[2]. Nec sane est unde confundaris, si in quo sacramento passus est Christus, intellegas. Passus est non diuinitate sed carne. Deus enim impassibilis semper est. Passus autem carne est,

[1] Io. x. 38. [2] Matt. x. 32.

1 *om* ét (Deus) C 2 > operibus diuinis C, *om* diuinis FGHKMV 3 Habens FGHKMV || magistrum B . 5 susurrare] susurra G, +re *supr. lin.* KF *sec. man.* || *om* eum CFGHKMV || *om* qui C || propter] per C 6 *om* nostra C || *om* Deum GK, quem C 7 saluatore + nostro FGHKMV 8 Iudeos *codd. omn. et alibi* || operibus] + credere C 9 ego] + sum FGHKMV || patre] pater C 11 > Christum confitearis M 12 praedicta] dicta M 13 *om* tui FGHKMV || infidelitatis B 14 > cruce Christi M || plasphemare FGHKMV 15 uoluerint C || dominici] domini C, > dominici dicti FGHKMV 17 > in celis est FGHKV || sane est unde] inde FGHKMV || confunderis FGHKMV 18 sacramento] fundamento FGHKMV || > Christus passus est B, *om* est FGHKMV, passum Christum V 20 Passus autem est carne C, Passus est autem carne FGHKMV

credendus est, deus et homo, quia sicut ex passionibus homo agnoscitur, ita Deus ex diuinis operationibus comprobatur.'

sicut apostolus docet[1], ut eius uulnere salus humano generi proueniret; sicut etiam praedixerat Esaias propheta: *Et ipse*, inquit, *passus est pro peccatis nostris*, *et uulnere eius sanati sumus omnes*[2]. Pro nostro enim peccato passus est Christus, ut nobis iustitia donaretur. SVB PONTIO ergo PILATO PASSVS EST. Tempus designatur, quo Pontius Pilatus praeses fuit Syriae et Palestinae. Hoc autem ideo caute ponitur quia aliquanti haereticorum, daemoniacis fraudibus decepti, diuersos garriunt Christos. Tu ergo et tempus passionis edoceris, ut praeter eum, qui uere sub Pontio Pilato pro salute mundi passus est, Christum, non passum aliquem alium fatearis. Mortuus est ergo, ut mortis iura dissolueret.

6. TERTIA DIE RESVRREXIT VIVVS A MORTVIS, sicut ait propheta: *Inter mortuos liber*[3]. Neque enim poterat Christus a morte detineri, qui et mortis et uitae totam obtinet potestatem. ASCENDIT IN CAELOS, unde et descenderat; quia *Nemo*, inquit, *ascendit in caelum*, *nisi qui de caelo descendit*, *filius hominis*, *qui est in caelo*[4].

[1] 1 Pet. iv. 1. [2] Is. liii. 5. [3] Ps. lxxxvii. 6. [4] Io. iii. 13.

2 generi *supr. lin.* F || > propheta praed. Es. CFGHKMV || ẏsaẏas C, ẏsaias HM, Esayas FGK 3 Et] uel Migne 4 *om* Pro BC 5 donaretur] donetur B 6 sup F || est + Christus FGHKM 7 sirie F || *om* et B 9 > decepti fraudibus FGHKMV 10 Christos] x̅p̅s̅ BC, + esse FGHKMV 11 *om* praeter BC 12 Christum] Christus BC 13 fatearis] a *supr. lin.* K 16 *om* ait M || *om* enim C 17 qui] quia FGHKMV || *om* et 1° C 18 optinet FHKV || *om* et GH 19 in caelum ascendit FGHKMV 20 est] erat C (*cf. Zeno Veron. Lib. i., Tract. xii.*)

13. Mortuus] Cf. *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Mortuus est, ut mortis iura dissolueret.'

15. Tertia die] Cf. *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: '*Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*, ut nobis futurae resurrectionis mysterium in suo corpore demonstraret, secundum prophetam. *Factus est* enim *inter mortuos liber*. Non enim morte potuit teneri, qui et mortis et uitae totam obtinet potestatem. ... Ascendit ipse, qui descenderat; quia nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui descendit de caelo.'

SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS secundum quod dictum est in Dauid ex persona Patris ad Filium: *Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*[1]. INDE VENTVRVS IVDICARE VIVOS ET MORTVOS. Crede quoniam hic ipse Christus, Deus noster, ueniet cum angelis et uirtutibus caelorum, tam uiuos quam olim mortuos iudicare ut reddat *singulis secundum opera eorum*[2]; hoc est iustos in uitam aeternam constituat, impios autem aeternae poenae subiciat.

7. Credis ET IN SPIRITVM SANCTVM. Hic Spiritus sanctus unus est, sanctificans omnia, qui de Patre procedit, solus scrutans[3] mysteria et profunda Dei, qui in specie columbae de caelis uenit in Christum. Hic Spiritus sanctus unus quidem est, sed multiplex in uirtutibus et in operationibus. Ipse *diuidit gratiarum dona singulis prout uult*[4]. Ipse prophetas constituit, apostolos impleuit;

[1] Ps. cx. 1, 2. [2] Rom. i. 6, 7. [3] 1 Cor. ii. 10. [4] 1 Cor. xii. 11.

1 Patris] *pr* Dei FGHKMV 2 est *supr. lin.* F 4 VENTVRVS]+est FGHKMV 5 Crede] Credo FGHKMV, +quod *ras.* F ‖ Deus] dominus C 6 caelorum] eorum C ‖ tam] *pr* qui FGHKMV 7 iudicare] iudicabit FGHKMV ‖ ut] et C 8 *om* eorum M ‖ in] ad C ‖ constituet GHV: subiciet FGHKMV 10 Hic]+est FGHKMV 11 unus] *pr* qui FGHKV ‖ *om* unus...sanctus (14) M 12 mysteria] *pr* omnia B 14 *om* et B 15 operationibus] operibus FGHKMV ‖ *om* Ipse V, Ipse...uult *in marg. sec. man. ut uid.* F

5. Deus noster] Caspari compares Ps. xlix. (l.) 3: 'Deus manifeste ueniet, Deus noster non silebit,' which was quoted in this connexion by Faustus of Riez (*Hom.* i.).

7. reddat] Cf. *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, ut iustos constituat in uitam aeternam, impios autem aeternae poenae subiiciat.'

10. Hic Spiritus] Cf. *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*: 'Spiritus sanctus unus est, qui de Patre procedit.'

11. sanctificans] In *De Sp. s. pot.* 5 Niceta uses the phrase found in the Creed of Greg. Thaumaturgus—'fons sanctificationis.' He often refers to the Procession from the Father. This one would expect, since he had not come under the influence of the Western theologians, especially Augustine, who were developing the idea of the Procession of the Son as an inference from the idea of the Divine Coinherence.

12. scrutans] Cf. *De Sp. s. pot.* 11: 'Ipse scrutatur altitudines Dei.'

16. prophetas] Cf. *De Sp. s. p*
18: 'Si prophetas constituit; si ap
stolos mittit'...'tempore baptisma

et ipse tempore baptismi animas credentium corporaque sanctificat; sine cuius operatione nulla potest creatura ad aeternitatem peruenire; in cuius gloriam etiam *angeli prospicere concupiscunt*[1]; qui et sedes et dominationes et uniuersas caelorum uirtutes sua maiestate sanctificat; in quem *Spiritum sanctum si quis blasphemauerit non habet remissionem neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro*[2], sicut ipse Dominus pronuntiauit.

8. Hanc Trinitatis fidem, fratres, in cordibus firmate uestris, credentes IN VNVM DEVM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM ET IN FILIVM EIVS IESVM CHRISTVM, DOMINVM NOSTRVM, ET IN SPIRITVM SANCTVM, lumen uerum et sanctificatorem animarum, qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae, qui nos, si in eum fuerimus intenti, deducet in omnem ueritatem et faciet caelestibus cohaerere. Hanc enim regulam fidei apostoli a domino acceperunt, ut *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti omnes gentes credulas baptizarent*[3]. Haec in uobis maneat fides,

[1] 1 Pet. i. 12. [2] Matt. xii. 31, 32. [3] Matt. xxviii. 19.

2 sanctificans M 4 concupiscunt] cupiunt B 5 et uniuersas] uniuersasque FGHKMV 6 blasphemarit GK, plasphemauerit V 8 pronuntiat FHKV (-ciat F) 9 > uestris firmate FGHKMV 11 *om* EIVS M 13 sanctificationem B || haereditatis.

—ipse (Christus) recepit in corpus suum Spiritum sanctum'...'nec ulla creatura sine hoc Spiritu—ad aeternitatem poterit peruenire'...'non sine Spiritu sancto—ad aeternitatem proficiscimur'...'in baptismo aeternitas perficitur' (per Sp. s.)...'confert (S. s.) sanctificationem et uitam aeternam.'...'Si angeli eum cupiunt aspicere'...'*qui autem dixerat blasphemiam in Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro.*'

16. regulam fidei] Niceta gives to the Baptismal Formula this name, which was so often given by Augustine to the Creed. How easily the formula was expanded into the larger Creeds may be judged by the shortened form which Niceta has quoted above, which I have printed in capitals. It is like the shorter form which is quoted by Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catacheses* as in use in the Church of Jerusalem at the moment of Baptism: 'I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.'

hoc *depositum custodite*, carissimi, *deuitantes profanas uocum nouitates et oppositiones fallacis scientiae*[1].

9. Si gentiles suadent multos patres iterum colere, tu retine beatam professionem tuam, quia unum confessus es Deum Patrem, nec natura fert ut unus homo plures habeat patres. Si Iudaeus Christum Dei Filium credere non suadet, sit tibi tamquam hostis, aut impugnandus, si tanta tibi est scientia scripturarum, aut certe deuitandus, si exercitatio deest. Si aeque haereticus sub nomine Christiano aut Christum tibi creaturam tradat, aut Spiritum sanctum alienum esse a Patris et Filii gloria persuadeat, sit tibi tanquam ethnicus et publicanus, qui te ad idolatriam deducit cum creaturam colere persuadet. Et cum te quaestionibus tortuosis nititur implicare, recurre ad murum fidei tuae et dic secundum apostolum: '*Ego ablutus sum, ego sanctificatus sum, ego iustificatus sum in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi et in Spiritu Dei mei*[2]. Nihil de hac Trinitatis professione mutabo nec saluti meae damnum et fidei faciam detrimentum.'

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 20. [2] 1 Cor. vi. 11. Cf. *de Sp. s.* 16.

1 hoc...carissimi *marg.* B *corr.* 2 fallaces FGHK, -^{c}ṭes V 3 suadent] student FHMV || patres] patrum es *supr. lin. corr.* B || *om* tu retine FGHKMV 5 nec + natura permittit nec GHKM, + ñ C (= enim *Mai, Migne,* = non *Caspari*) || feret M 6 Christum + dominum B || > non credere C || non suadet] dissuadet FGHKMV 9 aeque] quis C 10 tradat] traditam C 11 *om* gloria B 12 persuadet C || tamquam] sicut M || qui] quia BC 13 ydolatriam CHMV, idololatriam G || deducunt C 14 *om* te B 16 absolutus C || > ego iustificatus sum, ego sanctificatus sum B 17 *om* sum C || *om* nostri FGHKM || *om* et M 18 Nichil *codd.* || mutabo FGHK, mutilabo B, nuntiabo C 19 nec] ne CV || Nec solution^{i}ẹ B || dampnum *codd.* || fidei] + meae B

2. fallacis] This translation of ψευδωνύμου in place of *falsi nominis* is found in Ambrosiaster and Sedulius Hib.

14. tortuosis] Cf. *De Sp. s. pot.* 2: 'Sed adhuc inducunt quaestiones et tortuosis interrogationibus simplices quosque fide spoliare contendunt.'

18. mutabo] Mai has nunciabo,

10. Post confessionem beatae Trinitatis iam profiteris, te credere SANCTAM ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM. Ecclesia quid est aliud, quam sanctorum omnium congregatio? Ab exordio enim saeculi siue patriarchae, Abraham et Isaac et Iacob, siue prophetae, siue apostoli, siue martyres, siue ceteri iusti, qui fuerunt, qui sunt, qui erunt, una ecclesia sunt, quia una fide et conuersatione sanctificati, uno Spiritu signati, unum corpus effecti sunt; cuius corporis caput Christus esse perhibetur et scriptum est[1]. Adhuc amplius dico. Etiam angeli, etiam uirtutes et potestates supernae in hac una confoederantur ecclesia, apostolo nos docente, quia *in Christo reconciliata sunt omnia, non solum quae in terra sunt, uerum etiam quae in caelo*[2]. Ergo in hac una ecclesia credis te COMMVNIONEM consecuturum esse SANCTORVM. Scito unam hanc esse ecclesiam catholicam in omni orbe terrae constitutam; cuius communionem debes firmiter retinere. Sunt quidem et aliae pseudo-ecclesiae, sed nihil tibi commune cum illis, ut puta Manichaeorum, Cataphrigarum, Marcionistarum, uel ceterorum haereticorum siue schismaticorum, quia iam desinunt esse ecclesiae istae sanctae,

[1] Eph. i. 22; v. 23; Col. i. 18. [2] Col. i. 20.

1 confessionem] professionem FGHKMV 2 >credere te B, *om* te C || sanctae ecclesiae catholicae FGHKMV 3 > aliud est B, *om* est CV 4 *om* exordio, initio *in marg. sec. man.* H || Abraham] *pr* siue C || *om* et C 5 ysaac HKMV || martires M 6 *om* ceteri M || >qui iusti H 7 *om* sanctificati FGHKMV 8 uno] *pr* et FGHKMV 9 esse] est sicut B || et] ut FGHKMV 11 hanc n *ras* F || *om* una FGHMV || confoederantur ecclesia] deputantur FGHKMV. *Hic desunt* FGHKMV 14 credis te] credere C 19 Cathafriguarum BC || martionistarum B 20 caeterorum B(C ?) || scismaticorum B, cis- C 21 > istae ecclesiae esse C

quoting Tert. as using nunciare for renunciare or negare.

2. **sanctam ecclesiam catholicam**] The Austrian MSS. seem to have preserved the true reading *sanctae ecclesiae catholicae*, which corresponds, as Caspari shows, to Niceta's 'ut credas dominicae passioni' above.

siquidem daemoniacis deceptae doctrinis aliter credunt, aliter agunt, quam Christus Dominus mandauit, quam apostoli tradiderunt. Credis deinde REMISSIONEM PECCATORVM. Haec est enim ratio gratiae quia credentes, Deum et Christum confitentes, consequuntur per baptisma remissionem suorum omnium peccatorum. Vnde et regeneratio dicitur, quia plus homo innocens et purus redditur, quam cum de matris suae utero generatur. Consequenter credis et CARNIS tuae RESVRRECTIONEM ET VITAM AETERNAM. Reuera enim, si hoc non credis, frustra in Deum credis. Totum enim, quod credimus, propter nostram credimus resurrectionem. Alioquin, *si in hac uita tantum speramus in Christo, sumus* uere, ut ait apostolus, *miserabiliores omnibus hominibus*[1], quando utique ad hoc Christus carnem suscepit humanam, ut communionem uitae perpetuae mortali nostrae substantiae impertiret.

11. Multi quidem sunt haereticorum, qui distorquent fidem resurrectionis, uindicantes solius animae salutem, negata carnis resurrectione. Sed tu, qui in Christum credis, carnis tuae resurrectionem profiteris. *In hoc enim Christus et mortuus est et resurrexit, ut et uiuentium et mortuorum dominetur*[2]. Nec sane superuacue hoc

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 19. [2] Rom. xiv. 9.

1 decepti B 3 REMISSIONEM] *pr* in C 4 ratio gratiae] gratia C || quia] quam C, qua *Mai* 5 *om* et C 6 *om* et B 9 Sequentur B 10 uitam] *pr* in C 13 > *uere*, ut ait ap. *mis. sumus* C 17 inpetiret B 18 hereticorum B 19 uendicantes C 20 negantes c. resurrectionem B || qui in Christum credis] memento quod credis quia B

4. ratio gratiae] Niceta delights to point his hearers to the plan of God's working. Cf. *de Sp. s. pot.* 1; *de diu. app.* 1.

9. carnis tuae] The *tuae* which comes to the preacher's lips so readily does not point to **carnis huius** in the creed-form commented on. Caspari, misled by the *Cod. Chisianus*, which attributes the sermon to Nicetas of Aquileia, compared *Miss. et Sacr. Florent.*, 'huius carnis nostrae.'

credis. Habes siquidem auctores idoneos. Accipe Esaiam prophetam dilucide praedicantem: *Exsurgent mortui, et surgent qui sunt in monumentis et laetabuntur qui sunt in terra*[1]. Habes et ipsum Dominum prophetarum in euangelio promittentem: *Ego sum resurrectio et uita; qui credit in me, etiam si mortuus fuerit, uiuet*[2]. Et alio loco: *Amen dico uobis, uenit hora, cum mortui, qui sunt in monumentis, audient uocem Filii Dei, et resurgent, qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem uitae, qui autem mala gesserunt, in resurrectionem iudicii*[3]. Habes et apostolum Paulum asseuerantem: *Oportet corruptum hoc induere incorruptelam et mortale hoc induere inmortalitatem*[4]. Scitote ex duplici esse substantia, id est corpore et anima. Corpus quidem mortale, anima uero est immortalis. Cum homo in hac uita deficit, non anima moritur, sed ea recedente, solum corpus emoritur; et, putrescente in terra corpore, anima pro suo merito aut in loco lucis, aut in loco caliginis reseruatur; ut in die aduentus Domini de caelo, cum uenerit cum sanctis angelis suis, resuscitatis omnibus, et animae reuocentur in corpora et iusta sit malorum bonorumque discretio. *Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui*[5], impii uero et iniqui in tenebris inferi [ibunt], *ibi erit fletus oculorum et stridor dentium*, sicut scriptum est[6].

12. Vt autem de corporis resurrectione non dubites,

[1] Is. xxvi. 19. [2] Io. xi. 25. [3] Io. v. 28, 29.
[4] 1 Cor. xv. 53. [5] Matt. xiii. 43. [6] ib. 42.

1 Accipe] Nempe B 2 Isaiam C 3 resurgent C || laetabuntur] suscitabuntur C 9 resurrectionem] e 2° *supr. lin.* B 11 *om* et C || corruptum] corruptiuum B 12 *om* hoc 2° B 15 *om* est C || in] ex C 16 ea] illa B || emoritur] moritur B 21 iusta] ita B || > bonorum malorumque C 23 sui] eorum C || tenebras C || inferi] + [detrudentur] *Caspari* || [ibunt] *malo quia oculus scribae de 'ibunt' ad 'ibi' facile progrederetur* || Ibi B, ubi C

accipe uel unum exemplum de mundanis rebus, sicut docet apostolus[1]: Ecce granum tritici mortuum, aridum seminatur in terra, et, rore caeli madefactum, cum putruerit, tunc demum uiuificatur et resurgit. Puto, qui granum tritici resuscitat propter hominem, ipsum hominem seminatum in terra resuscitare non poterit? Immo et potest et uult. Nam sicut granum pluuia ita corpora Spiritus rore uiuificantur, sicut clamat Esaias ad Dominum: *Ros enim*, inquit, *qui abs te est, sanitas est illis*[2]. Vere sanitas, quia resuscitata corpora sanctorum amplius dolere iam nesciunt, amplius iam mori non metuunt. Viuent enim cum Christo in caelo, qui uixerunt secundum Christi praecepta et iustitias in hoc mundo. Haec est aeterna et beata uita illa, quam credis, hic fructus totius fidei et bonae conuersationis, haec spes, propter quam nascimur, credimus et renascimur; propter hanc et prophetae et apostoli et martyres tam labores inextricabiles sustulerunt, quam mortem cum gaudio susceperunt. Hanc uitam nec gentilis habebit, nec Iudaeus incredulus possidebit; sed nec uitiis et criminibus seruiens Christianus, quia solis est fidelibus et caste uiuentibus praeparata.

13. Quod cum ita sit, carissimi, manete in his, quae didicistis et tradita sunt uobis. Retinete semper pactum, quod fecistis cum Domino, id est hoc symbolum, quod coram angelis et hominibus confitemini. Pauca quidem sunt uerba, sed omnia continent sacramenta.

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 36 f. [2] Is. xxvi. 19, It.

2 *om* tritici B 4 putruerit] putrefactum fuerit B || resurgit] surgit C 6 *om* non C 7 imo C 8 Isaias C 9 Dominum] Christum C || inquid B 11 *om* amplius iam mori non metuunt B 13 > praecepta Christi C 14 illam B 16 quam] quod B 18 sustulerunt] sustinuerunt B 20 iudeus B 27 >sunt quidem uerba VT SUPRA IN QVINTO FOLIO B [fol. 188*b* is the fifth fol. reckoned backwards and inclusive. f. 188*b* quidem sunt uerba]

De totis enim scripturis haec sub breuitate collecta sunt, tanquam gemmae pretiosae in una corona compositae, ut, quoniam plures credentium litteras nesciunt, uel, qui sciunt, per occupationes saeculi scripturas legere non possunt, haec corde retinentes, habeant sufficientem sibi scientiam salutarem.

14. Ita, carissimi, siue ambulatis, siue sedetis, siue operamini, siue dormitis, siue uigilatis, haec salutaris confessio uoluatur in pectoribus uestris. Sit animus semper in caelo, spes in resurrectione, desiderium in promissione. Crux Christi et gloriosa passio cum fiducia praeferatur, et quotiens inimicus mentem tuam aut timore aut auaritia, aut libidine, aut ira titillauerit, responde illi minaciter, dicens: 'Et abrenuntiaui et abrenuntiabo tibi, operibus pariter et angelis tuis, quia credidi Deo uiuo et Filio eius, cuius Spiritu signatus nec mortem didici iam timere.' Sic uos tuebitur manus Dei, sic Spiritus Christi sanctus custodiet *introitum* uestrum, *ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum*[1]; cum meditantes Christum dixeritis ad inuicem: 'Fratres, *siue uigilemus, siue dormiamus, simul cum* Christo *uiuamus*'[2]; cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[1] Ps. cxxi. (cxx.) 8.   [2] I Thess. v. 10.

1 sub breuitate] breuitatis causa C   2 tamquam B || unam coronam B   5 *om* haec corde retinentes C   7 *om* siue ambulatis C   11 *om* Christi B   13 *om* aut libidine C   14 *om* illi B || abrenuntiabo] abrenuntio C   16 Filio] Christo C   18 sanctus] sanctum C   21 Christo] domino C

1. **De totis scripturis**] Cf. Ildefonsus, *Lib. de cognit. baptismi* c. 23 (33 Mai): 'In quo (symbolo) ideo ab apostolis breuiatim collecta sunt ex omnibus scripturis, ut, quia multi credentes uel literas nescirent, uel, scientes, occupati impedimento saeculi, scripturas eis legere non liceret, hoc corde et memoria retinentes, sufficientem sibi haberent scientiam salutarem.' This quotation was first noticed by Fea. Caspari quotes parallels from Augustine *Serm.* 214, *de Symb.* i., *ad Catech.* i., Faustus *Hom.* i.

Extant etiam fragmenta libelli quinti (*a*) eiusdem recensionis, (*b*) alterius.

(*a*) Eiusdem Recensionis *Cod. Rotomag.* 469 (A. 214).

FRAG. 7.

R

De immortalitate animae Niceta in libro quinto ad competentes. Homo ex duplici substantia *constat*, id est corpore et anima. Corpus quidem mortale, anima uero est inmortalis. Cum homo in hac uita deficit non anima moritur, sed ea recedente solum corpus emoritur et putrescente in terra corpore anima pro suo merito aut in loco lucis aut in loco caliginis reseruatur, ut in die aduentus Domini de caelo, cum uenerit cum sanctis angelis suis, resuscitatis omnibus, et animae reuocentur in corpora et iusta[1] sit bonorum malorumque[2] discretio.

[1] *cod.* ista. [2] *tr.* mal. bonorumque *codd. alii.*

(*b*) Alterius Recensionis.

FRAG. 3.

M^1M^2RV

Niceta in libro quinto ad competentes. Non enim ante ad confessionem uenitur, nisi prius diabolo fuerit renuntiatum. Sicut nec aurilegus ante aurum mittit in sacculum, nisi prius terram uel limum lauerit uniuersum. Ideo oportet prius repudium dicere diabolicae uanitati, et amara eius studia abrenuntiando proiicere. Abrenuntiare autem oportet non modo sermone neque solis labiis, sed fide fortissima et indubitata conscientia, id est

12 > fuerit diabolo V || aurilicus M^1M^2RV 14 uniuersam V 16 abrenunciando R *et alibi* || proicere M^1 18 fortisma M^1 || conscientia] scientia RV

ut Christo se homo tota animi uirtute committat, confidens quia Christi factus desinet timere diabolum. Deinde abrenuntiet et operibus eius malignis, id est culturis et idolis, sortibus et auguriis, pompis et theatris, furtis et fraudibus, homicidiis et fornicationibus, irae, auaritiae, superbiae et iactantiae, comissationibus et ebriositatibus, choris atque mendaciis, et his similibus malis. Quid dicimus de his, qui superfluo carnis ornatu iactare se uolunt, et uidere mirabiles? taceo de exquisitis inutiliter uestimentorum subtilitatibus. Oro uos, quid faciunt in uiris capilli acu crispati, comae retro quidem ceruicem cooperientes, ante autem frontem penitus abscondentes, ita ut nec signo Christi locus liber relinquatur in fronte; et unde se putant aliquam habere gloriam uel decorem, inde turpitudinem et ignominiam contrahant? Similiter et mulieres caput ligantes ut scutum, ut frons tamquam uallis inter duos subsidat colles; ut de auribus pondera lapillorum auro ligata dependeant, ut bracchia onerentur auro, ut ceruicem premant catenae uel lapides, et pedibus sanguineae pro calciamentis flammulae rutilent. Quis usus in his, quae utilitas inuenitur, nisi sola inanis pompa, et mens desiderio infantili corrupta?

2 desinat V   3 abrenuntiat V   6 *tr* superbiae et iactantiae irae et auaritiae V, *om* irae et auaritiae R || commessationibus *codd.* 7 ebrietatibus M^{1}M^2, ebriatibus R || mendatiis M^{1}M^2 || *om* et his... malis R   8 carnis] *pr* suae R   9 >se iactare M^1 || uideri R   11 *om* in uiris M^{1}M^2 || acu] a $\overset{o}{q}$ M^1, aquo M^{2}RV, +Audiant criniti *in marg.* R || come M^2 14 unde] eundem V || se *supr. lin.* M^2 || putat M^{1}M^{2}R || >habere aliquam RV   15 ignomiam M^2 || contrahit M^{1}R, -ait M^2 16 *om* et R   17 tanquam R || subsidit M^{1}M^{2}RV   18 ponde M^1, ra *supr. lin.* M^2 *corr.* || lapillorum M^2, capillorum M^2 *corr.* || dependeat M^2 n *supr. lin. corr.* || brachia *codd.*   19 honorentur V || catene M^{1}M^{2}V   20 pedibus] *pr* in M^{1}M^2 || *om* pro V   22 infantili (-tuli M^2) desiderio M^{1}M^2

III. SERMONES

i. *De Vigiliis Seruorum Dei*

I.

A = Cod. Cantabrig. Dd. vii. 2. Saec. xv.

II.

B = Cod. Vatic. Palatinus 210. Saec. vii.
C = Cod. Parisinus B. N. *Nouv. acq. lat.* 1448 (Clunis 33). Saec. ix.
S = Cod. Parisinus B.N. 13089 (Sangermanensis 591, 3). Saec. xi.
T = Cod. Bruxellensis 10615—10729. Saec. xii.
Is. = Isidori *de eccl. off.* i. 21, 22.

1. Dignum est, fratres, aptumque prorsus satisque conueniens de sanctis uigiliis nunc dicere et conferre sermonem, quando ipsa lucubratio exigitur a sollicitis. Nox ecce est caligo corporis, quae non solum homines sed etiam cunctos in somno detinet animantes, ut reparatis

Sermo beati Hieronimi ad fratres de uigiliarum sanctitate ubi in eos inuehens qui sacras uigilias superfluas ac infructuosas putant, illarum antiquitatem auctoritatem atque utilitatem testimoniis uel exemplis scripturarum ostendit. quae quum ad omnem sed praecipue ad monasticam pertinet disciplinam huic tractatui inseruntur A
de uigiliis seruorum Dei Nicete (Niceti T) episcopi BT, d. u. s. D. tractatus nicet // (duo litt. ras.)[1] episcopi C, t. Nicetii episcopi d. u. s. D. S

1 Bona et digna sancta res et apta prorsus S, Bona et digna res est (et T) sancta et apta prorsus BCT 2 proferre A 3 exigitur] geritur BCST || solicitis A, + et religiosis ST 4 ecce] caeca C *corr.* S caligo] *pr* et necessaria BCST || corporibus BCST 5 *om* cunctos BCST || *om* in A || in somno *supr. lin.* B || animitates (n *supra*) T || reformatis A

[1] The MS. has Nicete in the title of *de psalmodiae bono*.

uiribus per soporem, possint diurnos labores sustinere uigilantes. Bonus Deus, qui ita prospexit, ita constituit, ut *homo* exiturus *ad opus suum, et ad operationem suam usque ad uesperum*[1], haberet uicarium tempus in quo a laboribus duris et multa fatigatione requiesceret. Ergo diem ad opus, noctem fecit ad requiem, et pro hoc, sicut pro omnibus, gratias debemus agere illi qui praestitit. Nouimus autem multos hominum, ut aut maioribus suis placeant, aut sibi aliquid peculiariter prosint, noctis particulam ad aliquod opusculum segregare, et id pro lucro ducere, quod furati de sopore suo operari potuerint. [A Salomone[2] uero laudatur et femina, quae pensa et lanificium ad lucernam uigilanter exercet. Addidit etiam quod ex hoc laus uiro eius in portis et gloria magna nascatur.] Quodsi in carnalibus instrumentis, id est, uictui ac uestitui necessariis, qui uigilat non reprehenditur, immo laudatur, et mirari me fateor esse aliquos qui sacras uigilias tam spiritali opere fructuosas, orationibus, hymnis lectionibusque fecundas, aut superfluas aestimant aut otiosas, aut id quod est deterius, importunas.

2. Et quidem si sunt homines a religione nostra

[1] Ps. civ. (ciii.) 23. [2] Prov. xxxi. 13, 23.

1 possit A || diuturnos A 2 uigilantes] uiuentes A 4 uesperam AS || *om* a A 5 > duris laboribus A || requiescere prestitit A || *om* Ergo diem...praestitit A 6 fecit] facit B* 10 *om* ad CS] in T || aliquid corpusculum T || *om* et A 11 potueruoront B, potuerunt CST 12 *om* A Salomone...nascatur BCST 16 uictu T || ac] aut A || qui] quin B || uigilant (inuigilant C)...reprehenduntur...laudantur BCST 17 et mirari...importunas] quanto magis nos (+ qui BCT) sacras uigilias, tam spirituali (spiritali B) opere fructuosas, orationibus scilicet, hymnis, lectionibus fecundas, obseruare et amare debemus ut a (ita T) Domino Deo mercedem recipiamus BCST 18 spirituali A 20 > quod id A 22 Equidem sunt homines qui ista reprehendunt sed a fide catholica et religione (*pr* a BC, + nostra BCT) alieni sunt, sed non est mirum BCST

alieni qui ista sic sentiant, non est mirum. Quomodo enim profanis religiosa placere possunt? quibus si placerent, nostri essent quia sumus utique Christiani. Si uero nostri sunt quos uigiliarum salutifer actus offendit, ut nihil de his deterius suspicer, aut pigri sunt, aut somniculosi, aut senes sunt uel infirmi. Si pigri sunt erubescant, quia illis insonant uerba Salomonis: *Vade ad formicam, o piger, et aemulare uias eius*[1]. Si somniculosi sunt expergiscantur, scriptura proclamante: *O piger, quousque dormis? Quando autem de somno surges? Paululum quidem dormis, modicum sedes, pusillum autem dormitas, pusillum uero complecteris manibus pectus. Deinde superueniet tibi tamquam uiator paupertas, inopia tamquam bonus* et leuis *cursor* cito ueniet[2]. Si senex es, quis te compellit ut uigiles? quamquam et non compulsus pro aetate tamen uigilas. Et si stare non potes et tuam cogitas impossibilitatem, non debes iuuenes et ualentes ad tuum reuocare torporem, quod propter uarias temptationes iuuentutis se ipsos propensioribus macerare debent uigiliis. Si uero infirmus es membris, quod facere non potes, noli reprehendere;

[1] Prov. vi. 6. [2] Prov. vi. 9—11.

2 enim]+impiis et BCST || prophanis A 3 placererent T || quia] quod BCST 4 uigilarum T 5 offendit] defendit A 6 senes] *pr* quod his est primum A || *om* sunt ACS || uel] aut BCST 7 uerba] Prouerbia BCST 9 somniculosi] formidolosi A 10 quousque] quoque T 11 surgis BST || Paululum] modicum BCST 12 sedeas A || pusillum] modicum BST || *om* autem T || uero] autem BCST || manibus amplecteris BCS (complecteris T) 14 tamquam] autem sicut BCST || *om* et leuis BCST || *om* cito ueniet BCST 15 Si autem senes sunt BCST || te] eos BCS, nos T || compellint B* || uigilent BCST 16 compulsus...20 uigiliis] compulsi uigilare debent pro ipsa aetate sua, et Dominum Deum instantius orare. Vigilare itaque debent sedentes si stare non praeualent BCST 20 infirmi sunt BCST 21 quod+ipsi BCST || possunt non reprehendant (-tur T) BCST

immo riga et tu secundum prophetam lacrimis stratum tuum et dic: *Si memor fui tui super stratum meum*[1]. Iniunge etiam uigilantibus ut te suis precibus iuuent quo adiutus a Domino super lectum doloris tui canere possis et tu aliquando merearis dicere: *In matutinis meditabor in te, Domine, quia fuisti adiutor meus*[2]. Alioquin stultum et satis extraneum est ut quia ipsi currere non ualemus, bene currentibus derogemus. Nam etsi non possumus, debemus non inuidere sed congratulari potentibus. Sic enim ut de consensu malitiae participatur cum facientibus poena, sic participatio gloriae speranda est de consensione bonitatis. Alios enim effectus coronat, alios pia uoluntas laetificat.

3. Nec sane onerosum uel difficile uideri debet etiam delicatis corporibus in septimana duarum noctium, id est Sabbati atque Dominici, portionem aliquam Dei ministerio deputare: ista enim quasi purificatio est dierum quinque uel noctium, quibus stupore carnali ingrauescimus, aut mundanis actibus obsoletamur. Nec erubescant aliqui in bono studio sanctitatis, quia non erubescunt improbi in perpetrando opere foeditatis.

[1] Ps. lxii. 7. [2] Ibid.

1 Immo secundum prophetam rigent BCS || lacrymis B 2 suum BCST || dic] dicant BCS || fui] sui T || tui *supr. lin.* A *corr.* 3 Iniunge] commendent BCST || te] eos BCST || praecibus B* || iuuent] adiuuent BCST || quo] quod S *Migne* 4 adiuti BCS || tui] sui BC || canere quandoque mereantur, dicentes BCST 5 immatutinis B || meditabar B 6 *om* Domine A || fuisti] factus es (est B*) BST || studtum S 7 satis] setus T || est + a religione BCST || ipse T || *om* non T 8 derogamus A || Nam] quia BCST 9 *om* non inuidere sed A || Sicut (Si C) enim qui consentit malitiae particeps est poenae BCST 12 affectus (eff- AT) coronat ABT, coronat effectus C *corr.* S 14 > debet uideri T 15 delicatis] + uel infirmis BCST 16 dominicae AC, dominica S 18 sopore T 19 obsoletamur] oscitamus A, obsessi laetamur S *Migne*, obsolitamur T 20 erubescat aliquis BCT || quia] cum AC 21 *om* improbi A, *litt. ras.* T || perpetrando] poenitendo B

Merito ergo scriptura in Prouerbiis ingerit: *Est confusio quae ducit ad peccatum*[1]. In bono enim opere confundi peccatum est, sicut in male faciendo non confundi pernicies est. Si sanctus es, ama uigilias ut thesaurum tuum uigilando custodias, ipse in sanctitate serueris. Si peccator es, magis curre ut uigilando et orando purgeris; dum tunso pectore frequentius clamas: *Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine, et ab alienis parce seruo tuo*[2]. Qui enim iam ab occultis desiderat mundari, necesse est ut eum non delectet istis miseriis inquinari.

4. Res exigit, carissimi, ut de auctoritate uigiliarum et antiquitate, deque ipsa utilitate pauca dicamus. Magis enim quilibet labor suscipitur, si ante oculos proponatur utilitas. Antiqua est uigiliarum deuotio, familiare bonum omnibus sanctis. Esaias denique propheta clamat ad Deum: *De nocte uigilat spiritus meus ad te, Deus, quoniam lux praecepta tua sunt super terram*[3]. Dauid regio et prophetico sanctificatus unguento, ita canit: *Domine Deus salutis meae, in die clamaui et nocte coram te*[4]. Item dicit: *Memoratus sum in nocte nominis tui, Domine, et custodiui legem tuam*[5]. [Sed forsitan in

[1] Ecclus. iv. 25. [2] Ps. (xix.) xviii. 13, 14. [3] Is. xxvi. 9 LXX. [4] Ps. lxxxvii. 2. [5] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 55.

1 scribtura B || ingerit] dicit BCST || confusio] profusio A 2 ducit ad] adducit T 3 malo faciendo A 4 sancti estis amate BCST 5 tuum] uestrum BCST || custodientes ipsi...seruemini BCST, +ut tundentes pectora T *ras.* 6 peccatores estis...currite BCST || uigilantes et Deum orantes BCST || purgemini; ut tundentes (tond- C* tend- T) pectora frequentius clametis ad Dominum ex toto corde dicentes BCST 8 *om* parce S 9 iam ab occultis desiderat A, ab occultis iam (*supr. lin.* B) desiderat BCS*T || mundari] purgari S *Migne* || nescio an eos delectet iisdem (isdem ST) miseriis BCST 11 Res] Tempus BCST || *om* de T 12 et] de BCST 13 suscipitur] *pr* libenter BCS, +libenter T 14 utilitas] *pr* ipsius laboris BCST 15 Esaia T, I// Esaias B, Isaias *Migne* 16 Deum] Dominum BCST, +dicens BCST 17 quoniam] quia BCST || *om* sunt A 18 regio] *pr* et BCS || prophetico+spiritu BCST 20 Et in alio psalmo Memor fui A 21 Sed forsitan...assistere *om* BCST

lectulo suo positus haec cantabat: quod aliquanti pigriores sufficere putauerunt si tantum in strato suo aut oret unusquisque, aut psalmum forte submurmuret. Quod quidem et ipsum bonum est, Dei semper et ubique meminisse salutare est. Sed quod sit melius exurgentem conspectui diuino assistere,] accipe eiusdem prophetae aliam uocem quae et tempus et locum et habitum deprecantis ostendit: *In noctibus extollite manus uestras in sancta, et benedicite Dominum*[1]. Et ne uespertinas tantum horas noctis aestimes appellatas, occurrit et dicit: *Media nocte surgebam ut confiterer tibi super iudicia iustitiae tuae*[2]. Habes et tempus exurgendi expressum et sollicitudinem, quomodo Deo confitearis, ostensam.

5. Adhuc consideranti mihi intentionem sanctorum, maius aliquid et laboriosius occurrit, et ultra humanae naturae conditionem suggeritur, cum eundem audio prophetam psallentem: *Si ascendero in lectum stratus mei, si dedero somnum oculis meis, et palpebris meis dormitationem; et requiem temporibus meis, donec inueniam lòcum Domino, tabernaculum Deo Iacob*[3]. Quis enim tantum stupeat Dei amorem animi deuotionem ut somnum sibi, sine quo humana utique corpora deficiant, penitus interdixerit: donec locum ad templum Domino fabricandum

[1] Ps. cxxxiii. 2. [2] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 62. [3] Ps. cxxxi. 3—5.

2 stratu A 3 ore A 7 *om* et locum BCST 8 ostendat BCS || noctibus + inquit BCST 10 noctes CST 11 ut[ad] T, ut: ad C, ad confitendum S *Migne* || tibi + Domine BCT || iudicii T] + et T 12 Ecce habetis BCST || *om* et T || expressum (*prima* s *ras*) et exsurgendi (exur- ST) BCST 13 Deo confiteamini BT, + Deo T, confiteamini Deo CS 15 et 1°] ac BCST || > naturae humanae BCST 17 prophetam + audio (audis *Migne*) ita BCST *Migne* || *om* in C || lectum strati A *Migne*, lectum stratum + s *ras* C 18 sonum T || et] aut BCS 19 inueniam *bis* S, ueniam in T 20 Quis non stupeat tantam (tantum S) in Dei amore BCST *Is.* 21 somnium *Is.* 22 >utique c. h. BCST *Is.* || deficiunt BCST *Is.* 23 ad] ac BC *Is.* || fabricandum + in pectore suo *Is.*

rex et propheta reperiret? Quae res nos debet firmiter admonere, ut si ipsi locus Domini esse uolumus, et tabernaculum eius ac templum cupimus haberi perpetuum, sicut Paulus asserit, dicens: *Vos estis templum Dei uiui*[1]. In quantum possumus exemplo sanctorum uigilias diligamus, ne de nobis dicatur ut psallitur: *Dormierunt somnum suum et nihil inuenerunt*[2]. Quin potius gratulabundus unusquisque iam dicit: *In die tribulationis meae Deum exquisiui manibus meis nocte coram eo, et non sum deceptus*[3]; quia *bonum est confiteri Domino et psallere nomini tuo, altissime; ad adnuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam, et ueritatem per noctem*[4]. Haec et huiusmodi tanta et talia ideo sancti illi cecinerunt, et scripta reliquerunt, ut nos eorum posteri paribus excitaremur exemplis, ad celebrandas etiam noctibus salutis nostrae excubias.

6. Sed a ueteribus ueniamus ad noua, de ministris legis ad ministros euangelii; de nouo etiam testamento uigiliarum gratia consignetur. Anna Phanuelis filia, uidua, continuis orationibus et ieiuniis Domino seruiens, non discessisse de templo die ac nocte, in euangelio legitur. Pastores illi sanctissimi dum super greges suos nocturnas exercent uigilias, et angelos et Christum

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 16. [2] Ps. lxxv. 6. [3] Ps. lxxvi. 3. [4] Ps. xci. 2, 3.

1 >debet nos *Is.* || firmiter] fortiter CT *Is.* 2 Domini] Dei BCT 3 ac] aut *Is.* || habere perpetuo T || *om* perpetuum ..*uiui Is.* 4 Paulus] +apostolus BCST || afferit T 5 *om* uiui BCST || exemplum S, extemplo B*, exempla sanctorum imitemur ne *Is.* 6 uigilias] *pr* sic T || ne]+et BCST || *om* ut psallitur BCST, quod legitur *Is.* 7 *om* suum ST 8 potius+et S *Migne* || unusquisque+uestrum BST || *om* iam T || dicat T 12 ueritatem+tuam ACST 13 eiusmodi T || et] ac CST 14 paribus]+eorum BCST 16 >nostrae salutis BCST 17 de] a BCST 18 de] *pr* ut BCST 19 filia Phanuel (-is B) CST 20 et] ac BCST || *om* Domino BCST 21 discessit BCST 22 Pastores] *pr* quod *Migne*, et BCST || gregem suum BCST 23 exercentur *corr.* || angelos+exercero *ras.* T, +in splendore uidere BCST

natum in terris primum audire meruerunt. Iam uero institutio saluatoris nonne tota ad uigilandum auditores exsuscitat[1]? Siue parabola boni seminatoris dicendo: *Dum dormirent homines uenit malus et superseminauit zizania in triticum et abiit*[2]. Quodsi non dormissent nec malus fortasse zizania seminare potuisset. Siue cum dicit: *Sint lumbi uestri praecincti, et lucernae ardentes [in manibus uestris], et uos similes hominibus exspectantibus dominum suum quando reuertatur a nuptiis. Beati serui illi quos cum uenerit dominus inuenerit uigilantes. Et si uespertina hora uenerit, si media nocte, si galli cantu, et inuenerit eos uigilantes beati sunt. [Illud autem scitote quia si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur ueniret uigilaret utique et non sineret perfodi domum suam.] Itaque et uos estote parati, quia qua hora non putatis filius hominis uenturus est*[3]. Nec uerbis solum docuit uigilias sed etiam docuit exemplo. Namque testatur in euangelio quia *erat Iesus pernoctans in oratione Dei*[4]. Pernoctabat Dominus non sibi sed ut scirent serui inopes et infirmi quid agere deberent, quando Dominus diues in orationibus, nec ullius indigens, quam fortissimus in oratione duraret. Sic et increpat Petrum in tempore passionis dicens: *Non potuisti una hora uigilare mecum?* Et ad omnes iam

[1] Marc. xiii. 37. [2] Matt. xiii. 25. [3] Luc. xii. 35—40; Marc. xiii. 35; Matt. xxiv. 44. [4] Luc. vi. 12.

1 primi BCST 2 instituto AT || nonne omnes BCST: nomine tota A 3 exuscitat A || siue + in BCST || docendo BS 5 in] inter BCST || Qui si uigilassent BCST 6 nec malus forsitan BCS, forsitan nec malus T 8 *om* in manibus uestris BCST || *om* hominibus CS 11 hora] *pr* inquit BCST || si 1°] *pr* et BCST || si 2°] *pr* et BCST 12 inueniat T || *om* Illud suam...BCST 15 *non putatis*] nescitis BCST 16 solummodo BS *Migne* || uigilare BCST || *om* etiam T 17 doc. exemplo] ex. confirmauit BT *Migne*, conf. ex. CS *Is.* || Namque] *pr* sic *Is.* || in euangelio] euangelium CT 18 oratione] orationem B || *om* Dei S || *om* Dominus BCT 19 scirent... increpat] sciremus quid omnes facere debeamus (debemus C). Et ipse increpat BCT 21 *om* in BCT 23 potuistis T

dicit: *Vigilate*, inquit, *et orate, ne intretis in temptationem*[1]. Haec uerba et eiusmodi exempla, oro uos, quem non de profundo etiam somno et morti simillimo ualeant suscitare?

7. His instructi sermonibus, his confirmati documentis, beati apostoli et ipsi uigilarunt, et uigilias imperarunt. Petrus ab angelo in carcere *suscitatur*, et ipso reserante *portam ferream* in *domum Mariae* peruenit, *ubi erant multi congregati*[2], non stertentes utique, sed orantes. Idem in sua Epistola ponit ac dicit: *Sobrii estote ac uigilate quia aduersarius uester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem deuoret*[3]. Paulus et Sileas in custodia publica *circa medium noctis* orantes, hymnum audientibus uinctis dixisse memorantur; ubi *repente* terrae motu concussis carceris fundamentis et *ianuae* sponte apertae, et omnium uincula sunt soluta[4]. [Idem beatus apostolus a Troade *profecturus, sermonem ducebat usque ad mediam noctem*, accensis *lanternis quam pluribus in cenaculo.* Ex qua *Eutychus adulescens somno oppressus, disputante Paulo prolixius, a fenestra deductus, cecidit de tertio tecto, et sublatus est mortuus*: quo statim reddito uitae *usque ad lucem sermocinatus*, Deo gubernante, *profectus est*[5]. Quam

[1] Matt. xxvi. 40, 41. [2] Act. xii. 7, 10, 12. [3] 1 Petr. v. 8.
[4] Act. xvi. 25, 26. [5] Act. xx. 7—11.

1 *om* inquit BCT 2 *om* et BCST || exemplo BCS 3 *om* somno et BCST || mortis simili modo ST 6 beati + quoque BCST || uigilauerunt T || imperauerunt T 7 Petrus apostolus in carcere noctu ab angelo BCST 9 >multi erant T || stertentes] dormientes BCST 10 >epistola sua S *Migne* || ac] et BCST 11 ac] et BCST 12 transuoret BCS || Sylleas A, silas CS 14 uinctis] *pr* cunctis *Is.* 15 motu B *corr.*] + facto (factu S* -a *corr.*?) et BCST *Is.* || >f. carceris *Migne* 16 *om* sponte *Migne* || soluta] *pr* subito BCST 17 apostolus] *pr* Paulus T, + Paulus BCS || a Troade...uigilate] super exercendis uigilias adhortatur Thessalonicenses (Thesal- T), dicens *Vigilate* BCST 19 Eutycus A || adolescens A

plene idem quamque copiose super exercendis uigiliis adhortatus, Thessalonicensibus scribens ait: *Itaque non dormiamus sicut ceteri sed uigilemus, et sobrii simus. Nam qui dormiunt nocte dormiunt, et qui inebriantur nocte ebrii sunt. Nos autem qui Dei sumus sobrii sumus*[1]. Mire concludit: *Siue uigilemus siue dormiamus simul cum illo uiuamus.* Ad Corinthios autem:] *Vigilate et state in fide, confortamini, uiriliter agite*[2]. [Sic et ad Ephesios scribit: *Orantes in omni tempore in Spiritu*[3]. Et in ipso uigilantis quoque exemplum ponens in catalogo uirtutum suarum functum se uigiliis multis apud Corinthios gloriatur.]

8. Haec sufficiant de antiquitate et auctoritate uigiliarum. Superest ut secundum promissum de earum utilitate aliqua proferamus; quamquam sentiri magis possit per exercitium ipsa utilitas, quam loquentis sermo narrare. *Gustandum* enim uidetur: *quia suauis est Dominus*[4], sicut scriptum est. Qui ergo gustauit, intellegit et sentit, quantum pondus pectoris uigilando deponitur, quantus mentis stupor excutitur, quanta lux animam uigilantis et orantis inlustrat, quae gratia; quae uisitatio membra uniuersa laetificat. Vigilando timor omnis excluditur, fiducia nascitur, caro maceretur, uitia tabescunt, caritas roboratur, recedit stultitia, accedit prudentia,

[1] I Thess. v. 6—10.
[2] I Cor. xvi. 13.
[3] Eph. vi. 18.
[4] Ps. xxxiii. 9.

7 et state] statim A 8 uiriliter] *pr* et BCST || *om* Sic et...gloriatur BCS 13 >de auct. et ant. BCST, +sanctarum BCST 14 ut] in A || promissum+ordinem A 15 aliquid conferamus A 16 potest BCST || exercidium B, exercitum AT || sermone narrari BCST 17 Gustando BCST 18 *om* sicut scriptum est BCST || intelligit ACST 19 *om* pondus CS || pectoris] paedoris C *Migne* || uigilantis T || *om* deponitur T 21 *om* quae 1° A, quae+sancta BCS 22 uniuersa + uigilantis BCST 23 *om* fiducia nascitur, caro maceretur A || uitia...roboratur *supr. lin.* B 24 caritas] castitas BCST

mens acuitur, error obtunditur, criminum caput diabolus gladio Spiritus uulneratur. Quid hac utilitate magis necessarium? quid istis lucris commodius? quid hac delectatione suauius? quid hac felicitate beatius? Teste autem propheta, qui in principio psalmorum suorum beatum uirum describens, summam beatitudinem eius in hoc uersiculo collocauit: *Si in lege Domini meditatur die ac nocte*[1]. Bona est quidem diurna meditatio, sed efficacior est nocturna; quia per diem necessitudines uariae obstrepunt, occupationes distrahunt mentem, sensum duplex cura dispergit: nox quieta, nox secreta, oportunam se praebet orationibus, aptissimam uigilantibus, dum carnalibus occupationibus expeditum, collecto sensu totum hominem diuinis conspectibus sistit. [Inde diabolus diuinarum semper rerum callidus aemulator, sicut ieiunia et uirginitatem, uana baptismata et inania suis cultoribus dedit: ita et hoc sanctum aemulatus officium, nocturnas et uigilias suis comissationibus addidit. Vnde iam nostri, si de suorum institutione non excitantur ad habendas uigilias sacras, uel in aduersa uarietatis usurpatione cernentes, alienas a Dei rebus non esse fateantur: quas non aemularetur iniquus

[1] Ps. i. 2.

1 >gladio diabolus T 3 lucri T, +sanctis BCST || comodius T 4 delectatione BCST] dilectione A || hac] ista BCST 5 autem] etiam BCST 6 uir T || beatitudinis BCST 7 collocauit+dicens BCST || >Dom. lege CS || meditetur BCST 8 diurna meditatio, bona oratio, sed multo gratior et efficacior est nocturna meditatio BCST 9 necessitates BCST 10 destruunt BCST 11 multiplex BCST || nox autem secreta est (*om* est T) nox quieta est et opportuna orantibus (orationibus T) BCST 12 aptissima BC, *om* apt. uig. T 13 expeditos BST || collectu S || collectum sensum in tantum hominem A 14 aspectibus T || Inde...benedictionem] Itaque Deo placitas cognoscite esse (esse cognoscite T) uigilias ad celebrandam (celebrantium BC) benedictionem BCST 18 nocturna A || uigiliis A || comissationibus] cum miseracionibus A 20 non] nisi A

ad deceptionem, nisi Deo placitas esse cognosceret ad celebrantium benedictionem.]

9. Tantum, carissimi fratres, qui uigilat oculis, uigilet et corde; qui orat spiritu, oret et mente; quia ualde inutile est oculis uigilare animo dormiente. Cum e contrario ex persona ecclesiae scriptura testatur: *Ego*, inquit, *dormio et cor meum uigilat*[1]. Curandum est etiam ne nimietate cibi uel potus uigilaturi pectus oneretur, ne cruditates eructantes et crapulam, non solum ipsi nobis insuaues simus, sed gratia Spiritus indigni iudicemur. Quidam namque uir inter pastores eximius: 'Sicut fumus,' inquit, 'fugat apes, sic indigesta ructatio auertit et abicit Spiritus sancti charismata[2].' Ergo tamquam diuino functuri ministerio, ante nos per abstinentiam parare debemus, ut integrati expeditius uigilare possimus. Cogitatio quoque mala pellatur, ne male uigilantis *oratio fiat*[3], sicut legitur, *in peccatum*. Sunt enim et ex maligno uigiliae, sicut in Prouerbiis legitur: *Quare ablatus est somnus ab oculis eorum. Non enim*

[1] Cant. v. 2. [2] S. Basil, Hom. Migne, *P. G.* 31, 184 b. [3] Ps. cviii. 7.

3 Tantum] Tamen A BCST || *om* fratres BCST || uigalat B 4 ualde inutile] nec satis utile BCST 5 et animo dormitare BCST || e] ex S || 6 testatur] dicit BCS, dicat T 7 *om* inquit BCST || etiam] autem T, + ante omnia BCST 8 uigilaturi] uigilaturorum B, uigilatorum CST, *pr* nostrorum CS || pectora BCS, *om* T || onerentur BCST 9 cruditatem ructantes BCST 10 sed + etiam BCST || gratiae ABCST || Spiritus + sancti T 11 Dixit namque (enim T) uir quidam BCST || > ex. int. pastores T 12 ructatio BCST] tractatio A 14 diuinum celebraturi mysterium BCST 15 pare A || ingrauati BCT || et expediti (expi- B) BCST 16 *om* quoque T 17 uigilantium (-tum C) BST 18 ex malignis maledictae BCST || sicut] ut BCST 19 Quare] quia T

12. Sicut fumus, etc.] This is a quotation from the first Homily on Fasting by S. Basil of Caesarea (*P. G.* 31, 184 b) *ad fin.* Καπνὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀποδιώκει (4 MSS. φυγαδεύει) μελίσσας, χαρίσματα δὲ πνευματικὰ ἀποδιώκει κραιπάλη. S. Basil died in A.D. 379, and the form of expression seems to imply, though not definitely, that he was still alive.

dormiunt, inquit, *nisi male fecerint*[1]. Absint, fratres, absint ab hoc conuentu tales uigiliae. Sit potius uigilantium pectus clausum diabolo, apertum Christo, ut quem labiis sonamus, corde teneamus. Tunc acceptabiles nostrae uigiliae, tunc pernoctatio salutaris erit, si competenti diligentia et deuotione sincera, ministerium nostrum diuinis obtutibus offeruntur.

Haec de uigiliarum auctoritate, antiquitate, necnon utilitate dicta sufficiant. *Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus uobis*[2]. Amen.

[1] Prov. iv. 16. [2] 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

1 Sed absint et longe absint BCST 2 Sit] Sed BCST 3 *om* pectusA || apertum] *pr* sit BCST 4 quem] quae BCST || Tunc + erunt BCST 5 nostrae] *pr* apud Deum BCST || *om* erit BCST 6 competente CS || diligentia] di *supr. lin.* B, licentia T 7 nostrum + et A 8 Haec...sufficiant] Haec de uigiliarum auctoritate et (de CS) antiquitate, necnon etiam de earum sancta utilitate dicta sufficiant (-unt C). De hymnorum autem psalmorumque deuotione quam grata sint (sit B) et acceptabilia Deo, nunc quantuluncunque dixissem, nisi ratio prolixior uolumen aliud postularet: quod Domino largiente sequenti exhibebitur lectione BCST

ii. *De Psalmodiae Bono*

I.

A = Cod. Cauensis (*Bible de la Cava*). Saec. viii.
V = Cod. Vatic. 5729 (*Bible de Farfa*). Saec. xi./xii.

II.

B = Cod. Vatic. Palat. 210. Saec. vii.
C = Cod. Paris. (*Nouv. acq. lat.*) 1448 (*Clunis* 33). Saec. ix.
P = Cod. Paris. 10604. Saec. x.
S = Cod. Paris. 13089 (*Sangermanensis* 591, 3). Saec. xi.
T = Cod. Bruxellensis 10615—729. Saec. xii.

[ ] The additions in AV are denoted by brackets.

[1. Qui promissum reddit debitum soluit. Memini me pollicitum, cum de gratia et utilitate uigiliarum dixis-

Item alius eydem iheronimi prologus sequens A. In nomine Domini incipit Prologus beati Hieronymi in Libro psalmorum V, Inc. de psalmodiae bono eiusdem Nicetae BC, Sermo sancti Nicetii episcopi de p. b. P, Inc. eiusdem de p. b. S, Inc. de p. b. eiusdem T.

2 utilitate] *pr* de A

sem, sequenti sermone in hymnorum laude et mysterio esse dicturum, quod nunc hic sermo Deo donante praestabit. Nec sane potest tempus aliud aliter inueniri quam istud. A filiis lucis nox praeuidere dicitur, quo silentium et quies ab ipsa nocte praestatur, cum hoc ipsud celebratur quod cupit sermo narrare. Apta est adoratio militi quando stat in procinctu. Sola nautis conuenit cantilena cum remis incumbunt, mare uerrentibus aptissima est. Et nunc huic conuentui ad hymnorum mysterium congregato ipsius operis sicut praediximus adloquar.

2. Scio nonnullos non solum in nostris sed etiam in orientalibus esse partibus, qui superfluam nec minus congruentem diuinae religioni estiment psalmorum et hymnorum decantationem. Sufficere enim putant quod corde dicitur, lasciuum esse si hoc lingua proferatur. Et aptant huic opinioni capitulum de apostolo, quia scribit ad Ephesios: *Implemini Spiritu loquentes uobis in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus, in gratia cantantes et psallentes Deo in cordibus uestris*[1]. Ecce in cordibus psallendum esse apostolus definiuit, non more tragoediae uocis modulamine garriendum, quia sufficit Deo *qui corda scrutatur*[2] si in cordis secreto canatur. At ego sicut non reprehendo psallentes in corde—semper enim utile est quae Dei sunt in corde meditari—ita conlaudo eos qui etiam cum sono

[1] Eph. v. 18, 19. [2] Rom. viii. 27.

2 quod] quid A 4 istud a V || prouidere A 6 ipso AV 7 idhoratio A, ido- V 10 misterio AV || ipsas AV 11 adloquebor A, -o V 12 *om* in 2° V 13 *om* esse partibus V || superfluas V 14 religionis AV || extiment AV 16 lasciuium V || lingue V 17 hefesios A, Effesios V 21 tragoediae] traendi A, traguende V 22 garriendi V 23 *om* sicut A 24 Deo A 25 *om* in AV

13. orientalibus] Niceta may have had in mind the decree of a Synod held at Laodicea in Phrygia in 360, which expressly forbad congregational singing. See p. xci.

uocis glorificant Deum. Et priusquam de multis scripturis instrumenti testimonia proferam de ipso apostoli capitulo quod multi cantores obiciunt praescriptionis uocem eorum stultiloquium repercutiam. Ait enim certe apostolus: *Implemini Spiritu sancto loquentes uobis in psalmis*[1]. Puto etiam ora nostra laxauit et linguas soluit et labia prorsus aperuit. Loqui enim sine istis organis hominem inpossibile est. Et sicut aestus a frigore discretus est sic tacens a loquente diuersus est. Cum uero dicit: *loquentes in psalmis hymnis et canticis*, non fecisset etiam canticorum mentionem si psallentem omnino tacere uoluisset, cantare enim prorsus tacendo potest nemo. In cordibus autem quod dicit admonuit ne sola uoce sine cordis intentione cantetur. Sicut alio loco ait: *Psallam spiritu psallam et mente*[2], et uoce et cogitatione. Sed haec talia hereticorum sunt commenta. Dum enim aliud languent subtiliter cantica respuunt. Nam dum prophetis aduersantur et prophetias Domini conantur destruere creatoris, prophetarum dicta et maxime caelestes dauidicas cantiones per colorem honesti silentii euacuare contendunt.]

3. Et nos, carissimi, qui tam propheticis quam euangelicis et apostolicis sumus eruditi magisteriis, eorum nobis dicta et facta ante oculos proponamus, per quos

[1] Eph. v. 19. [2] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

6 laxabit V ‖ lingua V 8 sicuti A 10 fecisse V 14 sicuti A 16 >commenta sunt A 18 prophetias] prophetas V, *pr* per A ‖ Domini] Deum A 20 dauid dicat AV ‖ calorem honestis V 22 Et nos] Hic inc. BCPST *Migne* ‖ Dicamus quae (que P) nobis (nobilis T) Deus donare dignatur. Nos itaque BCPT ‖ karissimi AVBPT 23 sumus + omnes BCP ‖ eorum] quorum C 24 quos] quod AVT

14. sine cordis intentione] Cf. Chromatius Aquileiensis *Tract.* xiii. *in Matt.* vi. 5, 6: 'Religiosae enim mentis est Deum non clamore uel sono uocis, sed deuotione animi ac fide cordis orare.'

sumus omne quod sumus. Et quam sint Deo grata spiritalia cantica a primordio repetentes eisdem auctoribus adseramus. Si autem quaeramus quis hominum primus hoc genus cantionis inuenerit, non inuenimus alium nisi Moysen qui canticum Deo insigne cantauit quando percussa Aegypto decem plagis et Pharaone demerso, populus per insueta maris itinera ad desertum gratulabundus egressus est dicens: *Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim honorificatus est*[1]. [Neque enim illud uolumen temerarie recipiendum est cuius inscriptio est INQVISITIO ABRAHAE ubi cantasse ipsa animalia et

[1] Exod. xv. 1.

1 sumamus A || grata et accepta Deo CPST 2 primordia V || isdem AV, hisdem BP, iisdem S 3 asseramus ACPS || hominum] omnium CPST 4 inuexerit AVCPT || inueniemus A 5 Moysem BCST || cantauit] gestauit CS *Migne* 6 percusso VT || faraone A 7 dimerso AVP 9 >enim gloriose T || Neque enim...subnixus *om* BCPST 10 cuius] cui A 11 abrae A

11. INQUISITIO ABRAHAE] No other reference to this apocryphal book under this name, by which it seems to have been circulated in Dacia, has come down to us. But there are references in several writers to apocryphal works with similar titles. Dom Morin (*Rev. Biblique* 1897, p. 284) has collected the following references: *Const. Apost.* vi. 16 (*Patr. Graec.* 1, 953): Καὶ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς δέ τινες συνέγραψαν βιβλία ἀπόκρυφα Μωσέως καὶ Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἀδὰμ...καὶ τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν, φθοροποιά, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρά. Origen, *hom.* 35 *In Lucam* (*Patr. Graec.* 13, 1889 c): Legimus (si tamen cui placet huiuscemodi scripturam recipere) iustitiae et iniquitatis angelos super Abrahae salute et interitu disceptantes, dum utraeque turmae suo eum uolunt coetui uindicare. Quod si cui displicet, etc. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae sacrae*, n. 75 (*Patr. Graec.* 28, 432 b): Τὰ δὲ ἀπόκρυφα πάλιν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ταῦτα· Ἐνώχ, πατριάρχαι ...Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως, Ἀβραάμ. Epiphanius *adv. haer.* xxxix. 5 (*P. Gr.* 41, 671 d): Ἄλλην δὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος Ἀβραάμ, ἣν καὶ Ἀποκάλυψιν φάσκουσιν εἶναι, πάσης κακίας ἔμπλεων. Priscillian, *Tract.* iv. *ed.* Schepps, p. 46: Quando in canone profetae Noe liber scriptus est? quis inter profetas dispositi canonis Abrahae librum legit? Hieronymus, *c. Vigilant.* n. 6: Et si tibi placuerit, legito fictas reuelationes omnium patriarchum et prophetarum. In the Διαθήκη Ἀβραάμ (*ed.* M. R. James, *Texts and Studies*, 1892) mention is made of a talking tree, which in the shorter recension of the book is a tamarisk with three hundred branches, in the Arabic text a tamarisk with three branches. But this does not otherwise correspond to the work quoted by Niceta.

fontes et elementa finguntur. Cum nullius sit fidei liber ipse nulla auctoritate subnixus.] Primus igitur Moyses dux tribuum Israhelis choros instituit, utrorumque sexuum distinctis classibus se ac sorore praeeunte, Deo canticum triumphale perdocuit. Postmodum Debbora non ignobilis femina in libro Iudicum hoc ministerio functa repperitur. Ipse tamen Moyses e corpore recessurus terrificum carmen in Deuteronomio iterauit; quod scriptum testamenti uice populo dereliquit, unde scirent sibi Israhel quae et qualia eis funera manerent cum a Deo recessissent. O nimis miseri atque miserandi, qui tali tamque euidenti denuntiatione praemissa noluerunt ab inlicitis superstitionibus praecauere.

4. Iam postea multos inuenies non solum uiros sed etiam feminas Spiritu diuino completas, Dei cecinisse mysteria. Etiam Dauid qui a pueritia in hoc munus a Domino specialiter electus, et cantorum princeps, et carminum thesaurus esse promeruit. Qui adhuc puer in cithara suauiter immo fortiter canens, malignum spiritum qui operabatur in Saule compescuit. Non quo citharae illius tanta uirtus erat, sed quia figura crucis Christi quae

2 Moyes V 3 israelis VPST || coros V, c^{h}orus B || utrumque T, et utrumque sexum BCPS 4 distin^{a}etis a *supr. lin. corr.* P || praeeuntem B + cantare BPST || Deo] Domino CPS *Migne* 5 Postmodicum V || non ignobilis] nobilis (-es B*) BCPST 7 reperitur BCPST 9 uicem populi V || sciret V || sibi...Deo] quae poenae (poena CS) 10 et quales eis (eos CPS) tribulationes (contrib. CS) sequerentur si a Domino CPST 11 O nimis BCP] nisi AV, omnes ST *Migne* || atque] ad quem A || miserando V (T ?) 12 tamque] tantique V || denunciatione S || praemissa] praetermissa PT, promissa AVC, per- S || noluerunt + a peccatis et BCPST 14 Iam + uero PT, + postquam T 16 Etiam + ante ACPST 16 *om* a T || *om* in P 17 lectus BP || canticorum V || *om* et CS 18 carminorum V 19 immo fortiter] fortiterque BCPST 20 Saulem P || chitherae P 21 *om* illius PT || quia] quod AV || quae] quod AV

in ligno et extensione neruorum mystice gerebatur, ipsaque passio quae cantabatur, iam tunc spiritum daemonis opprimebat.

5. Quid in huius psalmis non inuenies quod faciat ad utilitatem, ad aedificationem, ad consolationem humani generis, condicionis, sexus et aetatis? Habet in hoc infans quod lacteat, puer quod laudet, adulescens quo corrigat uiam suam[1], iuuenis quod sequatur, senior quod precetur. Discit femina pudicitiam. Pupilli inueniunt patrem, uiduae iudicem, pauperes protectorem, aduenae custodem. Audiunt reges iudicesque quod timeant. Psalmus tristem consolatur, laetum temperat, iratum mitigat, pauperem recreat, diuitem hominem ut se agnoscat increpat. Omnibus omnino suscipientibus se apta medicamenta psalmus contribuit nec peccatorem despicit sed remedium ei per paenitentiam flebilem salubriter ingerit. [Prouidit, plane prouidit Spiritus sanctus quem ad modum quamuis dura et fastidiosa praecordia sensim et quasi cum delectatione

[1] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 9.

1 *om* et A || gerebantur S 2 *om* ipsaque...cantabatur VBCPST || demonis VP, daemoni S 4 huius] his CPST || psalmi AV, -us T || inuenias A 5 *om* ad u. a. ae. ad V || ad 2°] et *Migne* || edificationem ST 6 *om* et CPST 7 hoc] Psalmis PS || quod 1°] quid PS *Migne* || latet V, lactet AP || quod 2°] quid PS *Migne* || adolescens S 8 quo] quod V, quid *Migne* || quod] quid CPS *Migne* 9 discet AV 10 uidua PT || pauperes] pupilli V || improtectorem V, prospectorem BCT, prospectatorem P, perspectorem S 11 quod] quid ABPS 12 tristes—laetos—iratos—pauperes BCPST 13 huhominem se A || diuites ut se (*supr. lin.*) B 14 cognoscant (agnoscant BCPS) admonet (ammonet BPT) et ne superbiant increpat (increpant S) BCPST 15 aptam BCPST || medicinam BPST || *om* psalmus AV, > con. psalmus *Migne* || peccatores BC PST 16 eis BCPST || poenitentiam AVCPST 17 flebilem] lacrimosam BCPST || Prouidet *bis* A || Prouidet...inlecebra *om* BCPST

14. suscipientibus] The use of the word recalls the proper medical sense of a physician attending to a patient. Mr Souter points out to me that the dictionaries are almost silent about this usage.

eloquia diuina susciperent. Nam quia natura humana aspera quaeque quamuis sint salubria fugit haec respuit uixque suscipit nisi quod praestare uidetur inlecebra.] Hanc Dominus per Dauid seruum suum confecit potionem quae dulcis esset gustu per cantionem, et efficax ad curanda uulnera peccatorum per suam uirtutem. Suauiter enim psalmus auditur dum canitur. Penetrat animum dum delectat. Facile retinetur dum frequentius psallitur. Et quod legis austeritas ab humanis mentibus extorquere non poterat, haec per dulcedinem cantionis expromit. Nam quicquid lex, quicquid prophetae, quicquid euangelia ipsa receperunt, in his carminibus suaui meditantium dulcedine continetur.

6. Deus ostenditur, simulacra deridentur; fides adseritur, perfidia repudiatur; iustitia ingeritur, prohibetur iniquitas; misericordia laudatur, crudelitas abdicatur; ueritas requiritur, mendacia damnantur; dolus accusatur, innocentia commendatur; superbia deicitur, sublimatur humilitas; praedicatur paenitentia, pax sequenda depromitur, contra inimicos protectio postulatur, uindicta pro-

1 humana] hominum A 2 salubria] salutaria A || hac AV 3 inlecebram A 4 Hac Dominus V, Dominus itaque Deus noster BCPST || *om* seruum AV || conficit AV 5 cantationem PS *Migne* || ad] *pr* per V 6 *om* peccatorum A, + et V || *om* suam AV 7 *om* psalmus V || dum] eum BS *Migne*, cum C 8 Facile...psallitur] facile psalmi memoria retinentur dum (si CPST) frequenter (psalleretur T) psallantur BCPST 10 haec] hi BCPST || expromit] aexprimit A, excludunt BCPST 11 *om* quicquid lex S *Migne*, quidquid ABT *et alibi* || euangelium V 12 receperunt] recipiunt B (*pr* p *supr. lin.* C, praecipiunt PS *Migne*) || sane C *corr.* || medicatum APT, medicamentum V 13 duccedinem V 14 ostendit T, + timeatur T, ut timeatur BCPS || inridentur PT, ridentur ACS || *om* fides...repudiatur BCPST || adsertur V 15 > iniquitas prohibetur BCP ST 16 crudelitas AVC *corr.*] incredulitas BCPST || abdicatur] abiciatur T 18 commendatur] conlaudatur BPT, coll- S, laudatur C 19 humilitas] iniquitas V, > humilitas sublimatur CPST || > poenitentia (paen- B) praedicatur BCPST || depromitur] praemittitur AV 20 *om* contra...promittitur AV || protectio] porrectos T

mittitur, spes certa nutritur. Et, quod his est omnibus excelsius, Christi sacramenta cantantur. Nam et generatio eius exprimitur et reiectio plebis impiae et gentium hereditas nominatur. Virtutes Domini cantantur, passio ueneranda depingitur, resurrectio gloriosa monstratur, sedisse quoque ad dexteram non tacetur. Tunc deinde igneus Domini manifestatur aduentus, terribile de uiuis ac mortuis iudicium panditur. Quid plura? Etiam Spiritus creantis emissio et terrae renouatio reuelatur: post quae erit in gloria Domini sempiternum iustorum regnum impiorum perenne supplicium.

7. Haec sunt cantica quae Deo canit ecclesia. Haec sunt quae hic noster conuentus sono etiam uocis exercet. Haec non solum cantorem reficiunt sed potius stringunt. Non luxuriam suscitant sed extingunt. Vide an dubitari possit quod et carmina placeant Deo ubi et totum quod agitur expectat ad gloriam creatoris. Et merito idem propheta dum omnes et omnia ad laudes Dei cuncta gubernantis hortatur, *Omnis*, inquit, *spiritus laudet Deum*[1], seque ipsum pollicens laudatorem dicebat:

[1] Ps. cl. 6.

2 excelsius] excellentius BCPST, + in psalmis BCPST 4 hereditas] credulitas AV || uirtutes te *supr. lin.* B 6 sedisse] sedes BCPST || non tacetur] mirabiliter nominatur BPT, m. depingitur S *Migne* || *om* Tunc BPST 7 Deigneigneus P 8 ac] et BCPST || > panditur iudicium BT 9 Spiritus] Christus V 10 gloriam V || sempiternam V, *pr* in T 11 impiorum] peccatorum BCPT, + que *Migne* 12 cantica Dei (*om* T) quae canit catholica ecclesia (+ et BP, + sancta BPT) Dei BCPST 14 refficiunt V, resoluunt T, non resoluunt BCPS *Migne* 15 Non] Nec P, *om* Non...extingunt AS *Migne* || Vide...Deo] Haec cantica placent Deo (placendo P) BCPST 16 ubi] ut V || *om* et BCPST 17 expectat] spectat BCS || gloriam] angelum T || *om* Et BCPST 18 *om* dum BCPST || omnia] *pr* ex AV || laudem BCPST 19 cuncte A || gubernantis] gentes A, gens V || hortantur A, ortatur V || Omnis] *pr* dicens BCPST || *om* inquit BCPST 20 Deum] Dominum BCPST || seque] se BST, sed CP* || ipsum + quoque BCST || laudator est C

Laudabo nomen Dei mei cum cantico et magnificabo eum in laude. [*Et placebit Deo super uitulum nouellum cornua producentem et ungulas*[1]. Ecce praestantius ecce sacrificium spiritale, maius omnibus sacrificiis uictimarum. Nec inmerito. Si quidem ibi sanguis animalium inrationabilium fundebatur de ipsa anima et bona conscientia, laus rationabilis immolatur. Digne et Dominus ait: *Sacrificium laudis glorificabit me et illic uia est qua ostendam illi salutarem Dei*[2].] Lauda Dominum in uita tua, immola sacrificium laudis, et per ipsum ostenditur in anima tua uia qua ad eius peruenias salutare.

8. Delectat Dominum de pura conscientia laus emissa, sicut idem hortatur hymnographus: *Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus, Deo nostro suauis sit laudatio*[3]. Hanc scientiam gerens, hoc placitum Deo officium non ignorans, idem psalmista testatur: *Septies in die laudem dixi tibi*[4]. Et adhuc amplius aliquid pollicetur: *Et lingua*, inquit, *mea meditabitur iustitiam tuam, tota die laudem tuam*[5]. Sentiebat enim sine dubio de tali opere beneficium sicut ipse commemorat. *Lau-*

[1] Ps. lxviii. (lxix.) 31, 32. [2] Ps. xlix. 23. [3] Ps. cxlvi. (cxlvii.) 1.
[4] Ps. cxviii. 164. [5] Ps. xxxiv. 28.

1 Dei] Domini S *Migne* || *om* mei CST || *om* et ABCPT 2 *om* Et placebit...Dei BCPST 4 omnibus + his A 8 qua] quia V 9 Laudate BCPST 10 tua] uestra BCPST || immolato B (-e PST), + Deo CPST || laudis + pro anima et uita uestra BCPST || ipsa AV || in] *pr* uobis BCPST 11 uestra BCPST || uia] uiua VT, *om* CPS || perueniatis BCPST 12 Dominum] Deum BT, + nostrum BCPST 13 hortatur] optatur V || hymnografus A, immographus V, hymigraphus S *Migne*, + dicens BCPST 14 quoniam] quia BCPST || suauis sit] iucunda sit BC (ioc- P), sit iocunda decoraque ST *ras. Migne* 15 scientiam] sententiam T || > officium Deo placitum BCPST 16 officium] sacrificium A || non ignorans] sciens BCPST 20 sicuti A || commemorans BCPST, + dicit BCPST

13. hymnographus] With this form Mr Souter compares psalmographus (Ambrosiaster).

dans inuocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis saluus ero[1]: tali tutamine tali clypeo adhuc puer armatus et fortissimum illum Goliam gigantem destruxerat et saepe de alienigenis uictoriam reportarat.

9. Longum fiet, carissimi, si singula uoluero quae psalmorum historia continet dicere, praesertim cum res exigat de nouo etiam testamento aliqua ad ueterum confirmationem debere proferri, [ne officium psalmodiandi putetur inhibitum si cum multa de priscae legis obseruatione constat esse dâtum. Nam quae carnalia sunt reiecta, ut puta, circumcisio, sabbatum, sacrificia, ciborum discretio, tubae, cytharae, cymbala, tympana, quae omnia in membris nunc hominis intelleguntur et melius resonant. Cessauerunt plane et inluerunt cotidiana baptismata nomen operosa. Illa leprae inspectio uel sicut eiusmodi quod paruulis fuerat tunc pro tempore necessarium. Ceterum spiritalia, scilicet fides, pietas, oratio, ieiunium, patientia, caritas, laudatio, aucta potius non inminuta.] Ergo in euangelio inuenies primum Zachariam patrem magni Iohannis post longum illud silentium in hymni uice prophetasse. Nec Elisabeth, diu sterilis, edito de

[1] Ps. xvii. 4.

1 salus T 2 tutamine + et BCPST || clypheo A, clipeo VPT || *om* adhuc puer BCPST 3 Golian BPT || gygantem T || destruxerat] destruerat A, strauerat BCPST 4 alienigenas V, aliegenis CT 5 fiat V, eri BT, erit CPS || *om* si PST || *om* uoluero CS *Migne* 6 psalmorum] sanctorum BCPST, *pr* per V || continent B* 7 *om* etiam BCPST || ueterum] uererum T, ueterem S || confirmationem + et ad uestram instructionem BCPST 8 *om* ne ... inminuta BCPST 10 constent A, constant V || aesse V || data AV 11 relecta AV 12 tymphana A, timphana V 15 nomine A 16 *om* pro V 17 caeterum V || scilicet] sunt A, s̄ V (Dom Morin suggests "abréviation mal lue pour scilicet?") 18 aucta + sunt A 19 *om* in euangelio S *Migne* || Zaccarian B* || patrem *sup. lin.* P 20 Ioannis S || in] *pr* mihi VP || hymnifice A, himnifice V 21 Helisabeth VS, helisabet C

repromissione filio Deum de ipsa anima magnificare cessauit. Nato in terris Christo laudem sonuit exercitus angelorum, *gloriam* refert *in excelsis Deo et in terra pacem hominibus bonae uoluntatis*[1] adnuntians. Pueri in templo *Hosanna Filio Dauid* clamauerunt[2] nec Phariseis liuor desiit repentinus. Sed nec Dominus ora innocentium clausit sed potius aperuit dicens: *Non*, inquit, *legistis scriptum: Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem? Et si isti tacuerint lapides clamabunt*[3]. Et ne protraham sermonem, ipse Dominus, in uerbis doctor et magister in factis, ut hymnorum ministerium gratissimum comprobaret cum discipulis, hymno dicto, exiuit in montem Oliueti. Quis tali iam documento de psalmorum et hymnorum religione dubitabit? quando ille qui a caelestibus adoratur et psallitur ipse cum discipulis hymnum cantasse perhibetur.

10. [Sic postea apostoli quoque fecisse noscuntur quando nec in carcere psallere destiterunt. Vnde et Paulus beatissimus ecclesiae prophetas adloquitur: *Cum conuenitis*, inquit, *unusquisque uestrum psalmum habet, doctrinam habet, apocalypsin habet: omnia ad aedificationem fiunt*[4]. Et iterum alibi: *Psallam*, inquit, *spiritu, psalmum dicam et mente*[5]. Sic et Iacobus in sua ponit epistula:

[1] Luc. ii. 14. [2] Matt. xxi. 15; Luc. xix. 40. [3] Matt. xxi. 16. [4] I Cor. xiv. 26. [5] ib. 15.

1 promissione BCPST || *om* Deum V, Dominum C 2 sonauit V, +et VP 3 Gloria BCPST || *om* refert BCPST || terram VT || pax BCPST 4 bone P || annuntiantes BCPST 5 osanna VBT || >Dauid filio BCPT || fili V || fariseis AV, Pharisaeis C *Migne* || liuore BCPST 6 desiit...nec] strepentibus BCPST 7 apperuit BCV || dicens+eis BCPST || *om* inquit BCPST 8 scriptum] sceptrum T || lactentium BS *Migne* 9 laudem+propter inimicos tuos *ras.* T || si...tacuerint] sustitauerint T || *om* Et...sermonem BCPST 10 *om* et *Migne* 11 magister] consummator BCPT, >in factis consummator S *Migne* 13 >iam tali PST 15 *om* a T || caelestibus+cunctis BCST, +et CPT 17 *om* sallat BCPST

In maerore est aliquis uestrum? oret; aequo animo est? psallat[1].] Et Iohannes in Apocalypsi refert se Spiritu reuelante uidisse, et audisse uocem caelestis exercitus *tamquam uocem aquarum multarum et tonitruum ualidorum dicentium Alleluia*[2]. Ex quo nullus debet ambigere hoc ministerium, si digna fide et deuotione celebretur, angelis esse coniunctum, quos constat sine somno, sine occupatione indesinenter laudare Dominum in caelis, et benedicere saluatorem.

11. Quae cum ita sint, fratres, tam pleniore fiducia hymnorum ministerium fideliter impleamus ingentem, magnam nos credentes a Deo gratiam consecutos, quibus concessum est cum tantis ac talibus sanctis, prophetis dico atque martyribus, Dei aeterni cantare miracula. Huic cum Dauid confitemur *quoniam bonus est.* Cum Moyse Spiritum sanctum Dominum magnis illis canticis personamus. Cum Anna quae ecclesiae typum gerit, olim sterilis, nunc fecunda, in Dei laude corda firmamus. Cum Esaia de nocte uigilamus. Cum Ambacum psallimus.

[1] Iac. v. 13. [2] Apoc. xix. 6.

1 est] et A 2 apocalipsin AV, apocalipsi (-is *marg.*) C 3 uocem] uocis V, uoces BCT, *om* PS || *om* caelestis VCS || *om* exercitus tamquam CS *Migne* 4 tonitruum B*P, tonitruorum CS *Migne* 5 debet] potest T || hoc + uigiliarum sanctarum BCPST 6 mysterium[ni] C || deuotione] *pr* uera BCPT, + uera S *Migne* 7 quos] uox A, uos V 8 laudare] *pr* psallendo BPT || Dominum] Deum BPT 9 salbatorem B 10 Qui cum ista V || tam] iam CPT || pleniori V 11 mysterium *Migne* || *om* ingentem PS 12 *om* magnam...consecutos AV, consequutos BT 13 ac talibus] actibus AV, aetatibus T 14 *om* cantare *Migne* 15 Hinc V, Hic PS || Dauid + Domino BCPST || Cum + et A 16 moyses AV || Spiritu sancto AV || Sp. s. Dominum] potentiam (-ium C) Domini BCPST, *om* Dominum A 17 personamur T || aecclesia V || typum V] speciem *Migne*, spiritum B*C PST, *pr* t *ras.* B 18 corde BC || confirmamus ST, -ur CP 19 Isaia ST || uigilantes psallimus BCPST || ambacuc AC, Habacuc S, abbacuc P, abbachuc V

Cum Iona, cum Hieremia sanctissimis patribus orando cantamus. Cum tribus etiam pueris quasi in fornace positi conuocata omni creatura creatori omnium benedicimus. [Cum Elisabeth Dominum anima nostra magnificat[1].]

12. Quid hac delectatione iucundius? Nam et psalmis delectamur et orationibus irrigamur et interpositis lectionibus pascimur. Et uere, sicut boni conuiuae ferculorum uarietate delectantur, ita nostrae animae multiplici lectione et hymnorum exhibitione saginantur.

13. Tantum, carissimi, intermittentes fabulas superfluas, intento sensu et uigilanti mente psallamus, ut Deo non displiceamus. Sic enim nos hortatur psalmus dicens: *Quoniam rex omnis terrae Deus, psallite sapienter*[2]; id est intellegenter, ut non solum spiritu, hoc est sono uocis, sed et mente psallamus, et ipsum quod psallimus cogitemus ne captiuata mens fabulis et extraneis cogitationibus, laborem habeat infructuosum. Sonus etiam

[1] Luc. i. 46. [2] Ps. xlvi. 8.

1 yona V ‖ iheremia AV ‖ >cum Ier. cum Iona S *Migne* ‖ patribus] uatibus BCPST 2 etiam] aeque BCS (-ae PT) 3 benedicentes psallimus BCPST 4 *om* Cum Elisabeth...magnificat BCPST ‖ helisabeth AV 6 hac+utilitate commodius? Quid hoc BCPST, haęc C ‖ iocundius CPS ‖ Nam] quia BPST, qu uet C ‖ et+in T 7 *om* irrigamur...lectionibus AV ‖ *om* et T 8 sicuti A ‖ *om* boni...(p. 80, l. 24) lenta AV ‖ bonae C, bonis S 10 lectionum BT 12 ut] et BCPST 15 *om* est 1° T 17 *om* et BC, *supr. lin.* P 18 ạetiam T

4. **Elisabeth**] Cf. *c.* 3 and *c.* 9. In some Old Latin MSS. (*codd. Vercellensis, Veronensis, Rehdigeranus*) the reading of Luke i. 46 is *Et ait Elisabeth* in place of the more familiar *Maria*. Origen (*Hom.* vii. *in Luc.*, *P. G.* 13, 1817 c, d) also was acquainted with this reading: 'Inuenitur beata Maria, sicut in aliquantis exemplaribus reperimus, prophetare. Non enim ignoramus quod secundum alios codices et haec uerba Elisabeth uaticinetur.' Niceta does not seem to know any other reading. The subject has attracted much discussion recently. There is an excellent summary of the arguments on both sides by F. Spitta, *Theol. Abhandlungen*, 1902, p. 224 ff. *Vid.* pp. cliii. and clv. *supra*.

uel melodia consentiens sanctae religioni psallatur, non quae tragicas difficultates exclamet, sed quae in nobis ueram Christianitatem demonstret, non quae aliquid theatrale redoleat sed compunctionem peccatorum faciat. Sed et uox omnium uestrum non dissona debet esse sed consona. Non unus insipienter protrahat et alter contrahat, aut unus humiliet, alter uocem extollat; sed inuitatur humiliter unusquisque uocem suam intra sonum chori concinentis includere, non extrinsecus extollentes aut protrahentes quasi ad stultam ostentationem indecenter efferre, neque hominibus placere uelle. Totum enim tanquam in conspectu Dei, non hominibus placendi studio, celebrare debemus. Habemus enim et de hac uocis consonantia formam positam, uel exemplum, tres illos utique beatissimos pueros, de quibus refert propheta Danihel: *Tunc*, inquit, *hi tres quasi ex uno ore hymnum dicebant, et glorificabant Deum in fornace, dicentes: Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum*[1]. Videtis quia pro magisterio ponitur quod tres pueri pariter Deum ex uno ore humiliter sancteque laudauerint. Et nos utique omnes quasi ex uno ore eundemque psalmorum sonum, eandemque uocis modulationem aequaliter proferamus: qui autem aequare se non potest ceteris, melius est ei tacere, aut lenta uoce psallere, quam clamosa uoce omnibus perstrepere; sic enim et ministerii

[1] Dan. iii. 51, 52.

1 concentiens S, condecens BCPT, + n̄ q̄ ; S 3 demonnstret B* 6 *om* et alter contrahat *Migne* 7 extollet T 9 concinnentis *codd.* || extollendo P *corr.* T 10 protrahendo P *corr.* T || stulta B 14 uoce T || forma T 15 *om* utique T 16 Daniel ST || quasi] tamquam BPT 17 Deum] Dominum BPT 18 es] est B* || Domine] Dominus T || nostrorum + et cetera (-um C) BCPT 19 *om* pueri PT 20 sanctaeque P 21 ex] *pr* ueluti BCPT || eundem BT 22 eundemque T || 23 prof/eramus *una lit. ras.* B 24 est *supr. lin.* P || lenta] le u *ut uid. ras.* T 25 *om* uoce omnibus AV || praestrepere AV || et] hut A

impleat officium et psallenti fraternitati non obstrepat. [Non enim omnium est habere uocem flexibilem uel canoram. Denique beatus Cyprianus Donatum suum, quem sciebat posse, ad hoc munus ipsum inuenimus hortatum: 'Ducamus,' inquit, 'hunc diem laeti, nec sit uel hora conuiuii gratia caelestis inmunis. Sonet psalmis conuiuium ut tibi tenax memoria est, uox canora. Adgredere hoc munus ex more; magis carissimos pascis si sit nobis spiritalis auditio. Prolectet religiosa dulcedo, bene enim canentes habent quandam gratiam quae animos ad religionem incitat auditorum[1].'] Si et nostra uox fuerit inoffensa uel consona labiorum cymbalis bene sonantibus et nos delectabit et audientes aedificabit. Et Deo nostro suauis erit tota laudatio *qui in domo* sua, sicut legitur, *unanimes facit habitare*[2]. Quando enim psallitur psallatur ab omnibus, cum oratur oretur ab omnibus. Cum lectio legitur facto silentio aeque audiatur a cunctis legente lectore, non alius orans clamosis uocibus perstrepat. Et si tunc superueneris cum lectio celebratur adora tantum Dominum et praesignata fronte aurem sollicite adcommoda.

[1] Cypr. *ep. ad Donat.* c. 16, ed. Hartel. [2] Ps. lxvii. 7.

1 implebit BCPST || offitium ABV || et + humiliter BCPST || psallendi fraternitate AV || obstrepat] obstrepet AV, facit (-iet *Migne*) offendiculum BCPST *Migne* 2 *om* Non...auditorum BCPST 3 beatus] *pr* et A 5 sit] si V 6 gratiae A || psalmus A, psalmos *Cypr.* 9 Prolectet + aures *Cypr.* || dulcedo] mulcedo *Cypr.* 10 quodam V 11 incitant AV || Si] sic A || et] *pr* ergo BCPST || nostra] nostrum T, + omnium BC PST || uox + si A 13 haedificabit A, hed- V, ed- BCPST 14 Deo nostro] a Deo AV 15 sicuti A || unanimes] unius moris AV 16 *om* cum oratur...omnibus V *Migne* 17 Cum] *pr* ut BCPST 18 non alius orans] omnino BCPST || uocibus + nemo BCPST 19 praestrepat AV || si tunc superueneris] omnes antequam (quum T) legatur BCPT, antequam leg. omnes S *Migne*, + conuenite si quis (qui BC) autem superueniet (-erit PS) BCPST 20 adoret BCPST || Dominum + Deum BCPST || aurem + legi Dei BCPST 21 commoda A, commodet BCPST

14. Patet tempus orandi cum omnes oramus, patet cum uolueris, et quotiens uolueris orare priuatim obtentu orationis ne perdideris lectionem, quia non semper eam quilibet potest paratam habere cum orandi potestas in promptu sit. Nec putes paruam nasci utilitatem ex sacrae lectionis auditu. Siquidem oratio ipsa fit pinguior dum mens recenti lectione saginata per imagines diuinarum rerum quas nuper audiuit imagines currit. Nam et Maria soror Marthae, quae sedens ad pedes Iesu sorore neglecta uerbum Dei intentius audiebat, bonam partem sibi elegisse Domini uoce firmatur[1]. Ideo enim et diaconus clara uoce in modum praeconii ammonet cunctos ut siue in orando, siue in flectendis genibus, siue in psallendo, siue in lectionibus audiendis, unitas seruetur ab omnibus; quia *unanimes homines* diligit Dominus et, sicut superius dictum est, *in* sua *domo* eos *facit habitare*[2]. In qua *qui habitant beati* pronuntiantur in psalmo quia ipsi laudabunt Dominum in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[1] Cf. Luc. x. 42. [2] Ps. lxvii. 7.

1 patet 2°]+tempus BCPST 2 uolueritis BCPS *bis* || quoties VCS || >priuatim orare BCPST || ne obtentu (op- S) lectionis (orationis BPT) doleas te perdidisse lectionem BCPST 4 >paratam potest BCPST || cum orandi potestas] nam orandi (grande CS *Migne*) tempus BCPST *Migne* 5 promptum A, promptus V, promtu B || putetis BCPST || nasci] pasci V 6 auditu] audiuit BCPT || Siquidem] quia BCPST || ipsa *supr. lin.* T 7 saginatur BCPST, +et currit BCPST || per] pro V 8 *om* imagines V 9 Ihesu PV 10 Dei] Domini CPST, *om* V 12 modum] domo Dei S *corr. Migne* || praeconis AV, *pr* sancti BCPST *Migne* || ammonet BCPST 13 *om* ut V || *om* siue in orando T || *om* in 1° PS *Migne* 15 unius moris V 16 sicuti A, *om* sicut...est BCPST || *om* eos VT || facit] efficit BCPS, +eos T 17 qua+domo BCPST

IV. HYMNVS: TE DEVM LAVDAMVS

A = Cod. Vatic. Reg. 11. *Saec.* vii.
C = Cod. Vindob. 1861. *Saec.* viii.
E = Cod. Cantabrig. Ll. 1. 10 (Book of Cerne). *Saec.* [viii.] ix.
V = Cod. Vatic. 84. *Saec.* x.

B = Cod. Ambros. C. 5. inf. *Saec.* vii.
D = Irish Book of Hymns, Trin. Coll. Dubl. E. 4. 2. *Saec.* xi.
I = Irish Book of Hymns, Franciscan Convent, Dublin. *Saec.* xi.
T = Cod. Turin. F. iv. 1. *Saec.* vii.

M = Milan Cathedral Breviary. *Saec.* xi.
m = Cod. Monacensis lat. 343. *Saec.* x.
V = Cod. Vatic. 82. *Saec.* x.

I. Ordinary Version

Hymnus ad matutina dicendus die dominico A

1. Te Deum laudamus te Dominum confitemur
2. Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra ueneratur
3. Tibi omnes angeli tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

Hymnus quem sanctus ambrosius et sanctus agustinus inuicem condiderunt C ymnus sanctorum ambrosii et augustini V laudatio dei E

II. Irish Version

Ymnum in die dominica B

Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini.

1. Te Deum laudamus te Dominum confitemur
2. Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra ueneratur
3. Tibi omnes angeli tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

Haec est laus sanctae trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit B. *car. tit.* IT

paueri T   1 confidemur T   3 celi IT || universe T

III. Milan Version

Hymnus in honore Trinitatis V

1. Te Deum laudamus te Dominum confitemur
2. Te aeternum Patrem omnis terrae uenera*mur*
3. Tibi omnes angeli *et archangeli* tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

car. tit. M, Ymnus sanctae Trinitatis *m*, hymnum in honore trinitatis V

2 terra ueneratur *m*   3 angeli *sup. ras.* V, + et archangeli V || celi *m*

4. Tibi cherubin et seraphin incessabili uoce proclamant	4. Tibi hirubin et syraphin incessabili uoce proclamant	4. Tibi cherubin et seraphin incessabili uoce proclamant *dicentes*
5. Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus sabaoth	5. Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus sabaoth	5. Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus sabaoth
6. Pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis gloriae tuae	6. Pleni sunt caeli et *uniuersa* terra *honore* gloriae tuae	6. Pleni sunt caeli et terrae <gloriae maiestatis> tuae
7. Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus	7. Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus	7. Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus
8. Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus	8. Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus	8. Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus
9. Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus	9. Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus	9. Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus
10. Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia	10. Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur eclesia	10. Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur eclesia
11. Patrem inmensae maiestatis	11. Patrem inmensae maiestatis	11. Pater inmensae maiestatis
12. Venerandum tuum uerum unigenitum Filium	12. Venerandum tuum uerum unigenitum Filium	12. Venerandum tuum uerum et *unicum* Filium
13. Sanctum quoque paraclitum Spiritum	13. Sanctum quoque parclitum Spiritum	13. Sanctum quoque paraclitum Spiritum
14. Tu rex gloriae Christe	14. Tu rex gloriae Christe	14. Tu rex gloriae Christe

15. Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius

16. Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non horruisti uirginis uterum

17. Tu deuicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

18. Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris

19. Iudex crederis esse uenturus

4 cherubim V, ceruphin E*, -bin *corr.* || serafin A (-phim V) || incessabile E* 6 magistatis A, +et A 8 laudabiles E* 10 aecclesia V 11 inmense AV 12 unigenitum] unicum A, et unicum V, E *corr.* 13 paracletum E* 14 glorie A || Christus E* 15 es E *corr.*? 16 suscipisti A, suscepisti CVE* (-turus *corr.*) || orruisti A 17 deuictu AE* 18 sedis CE

15. Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius

16. Tu ad liberandum *mundum suscepisti* hominem non horruisti uirginis uterum

17. Tu deuicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

18. Tu ad dexteram Dei *sedens* in gloria Patris

19. Iudex crederis esse uenturus

4 hirubin B, hiruphin DI, hirupin T || syraphin B, zaraphin DI, sarupin T || incessabi T || proclamant+dicentes DIT 6 celi I 7 glorihosus T 8 profetarum DT 9 martirum DT || laudet B || exarcitus T 10 confidetur T || aeclesia DT, aecel- B, aeclisia I 11 immensae DI || maiestatis+tuae DI 12 uerum] +et D 13 paracletum T 15 *om* es B *in corr.* 16 suscipisti T 17 aparuisti T || celorum I 18 sedens B, sedes DI, sedis T || glo A*

15. Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius

16. Tu ad liberandum hominem non horruisti uirginis uterum

17. Tu deuicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

18. Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris

19. Iudex crederis esse uenturus

5 *om* Dominus *m* 11 patrem V || immense *m*V 12 unicum] unigenitum *m*V 14 glorie *m* 16 uterus V* 17 apperuisti V

20. Te ergo quaesumus tuis famulis subueni quos pretioso sanguine redemisti	20. Te ergo quaesumus *nobis* tuis famulis subueni quos pretioso sanguine redemisti	20. Te ergo *sancte* quaesumus tuis famulis subueni quos pretioso sanguine redemisti
21. Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari	21. Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria*m* munerari	21. Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari
——	——	——
22. Saluum fac populum tuum Domine et benedic hereditati tuae	22. Saluum fac populum tuum Domine et benedic hereditati tuae	[24] Per singulos dies benedicimus te
23. Et rege eos et extolle illos usque in aeternum	23. Et rege eos et extolle illos usque in *saeculum*	[25] Et lauda*bo* nomen tuum in *eternum* et in saeculum saeculi
24. Per singulos dies benedicimus te	24. Per singulos dies benedicimus te	[22] Saluum fac populum tuum Domine et benedic hereditatem tuam
25. Et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi	25. Et laudamus nomen tuum in *aeternum* et in saeculum saeculi	[23] Et rege *illos* et extolle *eos usque in aeternum*
26. Dignare Domine die isto sine peccato nos custodire	26. Fiat Domine misericordia tua super nos quemadmodum sperauimus in te	* Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula saeculorum
27. Miserere nostri Domine miserere nostri		
28. Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos quemadmodum sperauimus in te		

29. In te Domine speraui non confundar in aeternum

20 ergo] + sancte C || quesumus A || tuis] *pr* nobis E* || praecioso A, praetioso E 21 aeterna] na *sup. ras.* E || munerare AE* 22 domine *supr. lin.* E || be dic A || hereditatem tuam A 23 eos] illos A || usque in aet.] in saeculum saeculi A Seq. in A:—Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum et laudabile et gloriosum nomen tuum in saecula. dignare domine die ista sine pec | to nos custodire misere nobis domine miserire nobis. 25 saeculum 1°] in aeternum E*V, seculum *supr. lin.* E *corr.* 27 nostri 1°] nobis E, nostri *supr. lin.* E *corr.* || nostri 2°] nobis E 28 domine *supr. lin.* E > domine m. t. V || quemadmodum] sicut V

20 Tu D || quessumus BD || *om* nobis I || tuis] suuen T || pretioso D || sanguinem redimisti B 21 aeternam BD, -um T || *om* tuis BT || gloriae B, gloriam DT || muneraris T 22 popum T || bedic T || hereditati T 23 seculum T 25 eternum T || seculum seculi I, + amen B 26 sperabimus T

20 sanctae q̄s V, quaesumus sancte M, *om* sancte *m* || quos *seq. ras.* V || praetioso M*m* 21 gloriam V [25] laudamus *m* [22] benedic + saeculi *m* [23] eos V *corr.*

IV. Greek Versions

A

Ymnus matutinalis.

1. Se theon enumen se kyrion exomologumen
2. Se eonion patĕra pasa igi
3. Si pantes aggeli si urani ce pase exusíe
4. Si cherubim ce seraphim acatapausto foni anacrazūn
5. Agios Agios Agios Kyrios o theos sabaoth
6. Plilis urani ce igí tis megalosinis tis doxis su
7. Se dedoxasménos apostólon chorós
8. Se prophetôn enetos arithmos
9. Se martýron eclampros eni stratós
10. Se cata pasan tin icuménin iagia exomologi ecclesia
11. Patera emmeso megalosínis
12. [son ali th eikon monogeni ·yū·]

A

B=Cod. Bambergensis A. i. 14. *Saec.* x.
E=Cod. Essen. *Saec.* ix.
G=Cod. Sangallensis 17.[1] *Saec.* ix. x.
T=Cod. Paris. lat. *Nouv. acq.* 2195. *Saec.* xii.

B

Cod. Ambros. C. 13. inf. *Saec.* xiii. ?

C

Greek Prayer Book, *ed.* Field, Cambridge 1655.

[1] With the St Gall MS. should be compared *Cod. Colon.* 8 a quadruple psalter, which like the Psalters at Bamberg and Essen probably emanates from the school of St Gall.

Tit. Hymnus sanctorum doctorum ámbrosii et augustini episcoporum T

1 theon GT, theos BE || ainumen G || kōn T || exomologūm B 3 Sy pantes aggeloi sy uranoi ke pasai exusiai G 4 Sy kairoubeim k' ai G || soni E || anacrazon ET 5 Agyos agyos agyos kōs o thōs T 6 Uranoi ke G || megalosini G 7 chorús BE 8 ainetos G 9 eklampros ainei G, etlampros E 10 kata G || isumenin E, oikumenin G || sagía E, iagya T || ekklesia G 11 enmeso T (a barbaric transliteration of *immensae*) 12 So in G: *om* BET

A.	B.	C.
Cod. Sangallensis 17.	Cod. Ambros. C. 13. inf.	Translation by James Dupont (?) 1665.
1. Σὲ θεὸν αἰνοῦμεν· σὲ κύριον ἐξομολογοῦμεν.	1. Σὲ θεὸν αἰνοῦμεν· σὲ κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν.	1. Σὲ Θεὸν ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ τὸν Κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν.
2. Σὲ αἰώνιον πατέρα πᾶσα ἡ γῆ [σέβεται].	2. Σὲ τὸν ἀίδιον[1] πατέρα πᾶσα ἡ γῆ σεύεται.	2. Σὲ τὸν αἰώνιον Πατέρα πᾶσα ἡ γῆ σέβεται.
3. Σοὶ πάντες ἄγγελοι, σοὶ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι ἐξουσίαι,	3. Σοὶ πάντες ἄγγελοι[2], σοὶ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι[3] ἐξουσίαι·	3. Σοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἄγγελοι ἐκφώνως βοῶσι, σοὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν.
4. Σοὶ χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ ἀκαταπαύστῳ φωνῇ ἀνακράζουσιν·	4. Σοὶ τὰ χερουβῆμ καὶ τὰ σεραφῆμ ἀκαταπάστῳ φωνῇ[4] βοῶσι[5]·	4. Σοὶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ Σεραφὶμ ἀκαταπαύστῳ φωνῇ ἐκβοῶσιν·
5. Ἅγιος Ἅγιος Ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς σαβαώθ·	5. Ἅγιος Ἅγιος Ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς σαβαώθ·	5. Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Σαβαώθ,
6. Πληρεῖς οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τῆς δόξης σοῦ.	6. Πλήρης εἰσὶν[6] οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπῆς τῆς δόξης σου.	6. Πλήρεις οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς μεγαλειότητος τῆς δόξης σου.
7. Σὲ δεδοξασμένος ἀποστόλων χορός·	7. Σὲ ὁ ἔνδοξος[7] τῶν ἀποστόλων χορός·	7. Σὲ ὁ ἔνδοξος τῶν Ἀποστόλων χορὸς ἀνυμνεῖ.
8. Σὲ προφητῶν αἰνετὸς ἀριθμός·	8. Σὲ προφητῶν[8] ὁ ἐπένετος ἀριθμός·	8. Σὲ ὁ τῶν Προφητῶν ἀξιοπρεπὴς σύλλογος ἀνυμνεῖ.

[1] *Cod.* ἀΐδιον [2] ἀγγελοι [3] πάσαι [4] φωνῇ [5] βωόσι [6] εἰσὶν [7] ἔνδοξος τῶν [8] προφητῶν

9. Σὲ μαρτύρων ἔκλαμπρος αἰνεῖ στρατός·

10. Σὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἡ ἁγία ἐξομολογεῖ ἐκκλησία.

9. Σὲ τῶν[9] μαρτύρων ἡ ἔκλαμπρος[10] στρατιά.

[9] τὸν [10] εκ'λαμπρος ἐπενή

9. Σὲ ὁ τῶν Μαρτύρων γενναῖος στρατὸς ἀνυμνεῖ.

10. Σὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἡ Ἁγία ὁμολογεῖ Ἐκκλησία.

11. Πατέρα τῆς ἀπεράντου μεγαλειότητος,

12. Τόν τε σεβάσμιον σὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μονογενῆ Υἱόν,

13. Καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν παράκλητον.

14. Σὺ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης εἶ Χριστέ,

15. Σὺ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀΐδιος ὑπάρχεις Υἱός,

16. Σὺ ἐπιχειρήσας λυτρώσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐβδελύξω τὴν τῆς παρθένου γαστέρα.

17. Σὺ νικήσας τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κέντρον, ἤνοιξας πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

18. Σὺ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κάθησαι ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρός.

19. Σὲ κριτὴν ἡμῶν ἥξειν πιστεύομεν.

20. Σὲ τοίνυν δεόμεθα τοῖς σοῖς οἰκέταις βοήθει οὓς τῷ τιμίῳ σου ἐξηγόρασας αἵματι.

21. Ποίησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αἰωνίῳ δόξῃ τοῖς Ἁγίοις σου συναριθμηθῆναι.

22. Σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου Κύριε, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.

23. Ποίμανον αὐτούς, καὶ ἔπαρον αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

24. Καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν μεγαλυνόμεθά σε

25. Καὶ προσκυνούμεθα τῷ ὀνόματί σου εἰς αἰῶνα, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.

26. Ἀξίωσον Κύριε ἀναμαρτήτους φυλάσσειν ἡμᾶς σήμερον.

27. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·

28. Γένοιτο Κύριε τὸ ἔλεος σοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπίσαμεν ἐπὶ σοί.

29. Ἐπὶ σοὶ Κύριε ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

V. OPERA DVBIA

A

i. *Ps. Athanasii de ratione Paschae* [= *Nicetae Lib. vi. de agni paschalis uictima?*]

A = Cod. Ambros. H. 150 Inf. Saec. ix.
M = Montfaucon, *Athanasii op.* II. 741.

1. *Mensis hic uobis initium mensuum, primus erit uobis in mensibus anni. Loquere ad omnem synagogam filiorum Israel: Decima mensis huius sumite unusquisque ouem per domus paternas, ouem per singulas domus, ita ut si non sint satis ad ouem adsumant secum uicinum propinquum. Sument autem agnum masculum inmaculatum anniculum: de ouibus et haedis sumetis. Et erit uobis obseruatum usque in quartam decimam mensis huius. Et occidet eum multitudo synagogae filiorum Israel ad uesperum. Adsument de sanguine et ponent super duos postes et super limina domus in quibus edunt eum. Et manducabunt carnes assatas igni, et azyma cum amaritudine manducabunt; et non manducabitis ex eis crudum neque coctum in aqua sed assatas igni. Sic autem manducabitis illum; lumbi uestri accincti et calciamenta uestra in pedibus uestris [et bacula uestra in manibus uestris] et edetis illud cum festinatione.*

Incipit tractatus sancti adthanasi episcopi alexandrini de racione pasche A

1 inicium A 2 sinagogam A 3 Decimam A 5 propincum A 6 agniculum A 7 aedis A || sumitis A 8 occidit A 9 sinagoge A 10 potes A || limenus .III A* 12 igni] agni A 14 assatos A || manducabis A 15 [et bacula...uestris] *om* A *per homoeoteleuton* 16 aedetis A

B

De pascha [*ed. Martinus Bracarensis ?*]

C = Cod. Coloniensis, 83^{II} (Darmstad, 2084). Saec. ix.
Fl = Florez, *España Sagrada*, T. xv.

1. Plerique mysterium paschae enarrare uoluerunt ex ratione supputationis in mense, et luna, et die; sed siue scientiae, siue sermonis impossibilitate, id reliquerunt obscurius, quasi nihil inde dixissent. Scio enim multos scrupulosius interrogare solitos, quare secundum morem Iudaeorum ad lunae computationem diuersis temporibus pascha celebremus, dicentes, rectius sibi uideri si dominicae passionis commemoratio agatur, ut unum anniuersarium natalis diem obseruemus, sicut a plerisque Gallicanis episcopis usque ante non multum tempus custoditum est, ut semper viii kal. April. diem paschae celebrarent, in quo facta Christi resurrectio traditur. Placuit autem et mihi inquirenti curiose quid maiores nostri secuti essent, aperte exponere.

1 misterium C *et alibi* || narrare C   2 ex ratione] simulque degerere rationem C || subputationes C || >et diȩ et luna C || *om* sed C   3 scienciae C || sermones C || > o. id reliquerunt C   4 enim] autem C   5 scrupulius C* || saecundum C   7 celebramus C   8 uiderunt C || *om* ut C   9 annum uernarium talem diem C   11 temporis C || die C   12 celebrauerimus C || quo + diae C || facta + est C || >res. Christi C   13 autem] itaque C || inquirentibus C   14 secuti essent] senserint C

Pascha est Domini[1]. Scio multos scrupulosius interrogare solitos, quare secundum morem Iudaeorum ad lunae conputationem diuersis temporibus pascha celebremus, dicentes rectius uideri, ut, si commemoratio sit dominicae passionis, unus anniuersarius natalis dies in obseruatione teneatur; ut semper viii kalendarum Aprilium diem paschae celebrarent, in quo die Christi resurrectio traderetur. Itaque inquirentibus curiose quid maiores nostri secuti uideantur exponam.

2. Passio Christi redemptio est creaturae. De qua apostolus ait quod *congemescat et doleat* subiecta seruituti *non sua sponte sed per eum qui subiecit illam in spem quia et ipsa liberabitur a corruptela seruitutis cum libertate filiorum Dei*[2]. Creaturam autem intellegimus eam uitam qua mundus animatur, in qua creantur omnia quae gignuntur e terra. Certum est enim nihil creare posse sine uita. Quae utique creatura tunc subiecta est seruituti cum mundus est factus, quam Christus per passionem suam ueniens liberare seruauit, ut in eo tempore pateretur, in quo creatura subiecta fuerat seruituti; ut, quia dies ille tristitiae fuerat, idem laetitiae redderetur.

[1] Ex. xii. 2—9, 11. [2] Rom. viii. 20—22.

2 Iudeorum A 3 conparationem A || paschale A 4 reccius A 5 natales A 10 creature A, + dicit resurrexit Christus in equinoctio ueris luna plena die dominica A 12 sua] suo A* || sed] sod A* || *om* in A 13 ipsa] *pr* in A 15 eam] esse *M* || amatur in quo A*M* 16 que A *et alibi* || est *sup. lin. pr. m.* A || nihil] l *sup. lin. pr. m.* A 18 factus] captus A*M* 19 liberē *r*eseruauit *r sup. ras.* A 21 tristiciae A || item A 22 leticiae A

2. Passio Christi redemptio est creaturae, de qua apostolus ait, quod subiecta fuerit seruituti, *non sua sponte, sed propter eum, qui eam subiecit in spe quia ipsa liberabitur a seruitute interitus cum libertate filiorum Dei.* Haec creatura est Spiritus uitae, qui creauit omnia terrena corpora seruituti subiectus in eam spem, ut de corruptelae interitu cum libertate filiorum gloriae liberetur: quae utique in eo die subiecta est seruituti in quo mundus effectus est, quam cum Christus per passionem suam liberare uenisset, seruauit, ut in eo tempore pateretur in quo creatura subiecta erat seruituti: ut qui dies ille tristitiae fuerat, idem laetitiae redderetur. Quoniam uero magni huius sacramenti tanta esset ueritas, ut ueritatis ipsius etiam umbra proficeret ad salutem liberandis Iudaeis de seruitute Pharaonis, quasi iam libertas creaturae de seruitute corruptelae figuraretur, futurae passionis Christi imago in aduentum salutis operata est, et ideo dictum est a Deo, ut in primo mense anni xiv luna agnus

3 >subiecit eam C || spem C || ipsa] *pr* et C, +creatura C 4 corubtella interritus C 5 creat C 6 corpora seruituti] corporatura C, corporaturae Fl || coruptella C 7 interitus C || *om* libertate C || gloria C 9 *om* cum Fl 10 ueniret C, +et Fl 11 tristiciae C 12 laeticiae C || magni...ueritas] agni huius sacramenta tanta essent Fl 13 huius] cuius C 14 liberandi sicut de his Fl 15 Faraonis C || quas si C || iam+in ipsis C || liberatio C 16 seruitutae corrubtelle C 17 *om* in C 18 a Deo] ad eos C

immaculatus anniculus immolaretur, de cuius sanguine domos suas super limina obsignarent, ne a uastatore angelo terrerentur, atque in ipsa nocte, comesto per domos agno, quod esset paschae celebratio, liberationem per figuram seruitutis acciperent. Non obscura est figura, agnum immaculatum esse Christum, cuius immolatione a seruitute nos interitus liberauit. Nam signo crucis eius quasi sanguinis aspersione signati, usque ad consummationem mundi a uastatoribus angelis uindicabimur. Hoc breuiter et strictim dixisse sufficiat, ut id quod quaerere propositum est, rationem obseruationis, et paschae, et mensis, et lunae, et diei, sine molestia multiloquii aperiamus.

Quaesitum est ergo a maioribus nostris, secundum id quod scriptum erat, quis esset primus mensis, et quis esset primus dies, et in quo die decima quarta luna efficeretur cum mandaretur pascha celebrari. In illo enim tempore in quo Iudaeis facta traditio est, necdum mensis ad lunae cursum significatione nominum computabatur. Dedit autem illis argumentum, iam calculo computationis inuento, tempus, et dies passionis, ut ex eo intellegerent quem primum mensem anni, et quem primum eiusdem diem, et quando quarta decima luna fuisse susciperent, et quare hoc mysterium paschae secundum diem et lunam obseruare deberent. Hoc

1 sanguinem C 2 domum suam C || consignarent C || nec C* 3 terrerentur] contingeretur C || nocte] domo Fl 4 domus C || est C || celebracio C 5 figuram] fugam Fl || acciperunt C 6 Christum] *pr* Iesum C || huius immolationem ad seruitutem nostri interitus liberandam Fl 7 seruitutae C 11 querere C || ratione C 12 *om* et 1° C || et 2°] in C || mense et luna et diae C 13 multiloqui C 14 Quesitum C || saecundum C *et alibi* 15 scribtum est C || menses C, +in mensibus anni C 16 esset] eiusdem C || >dies primus C || diae C 17 *om* cum mandaretur Fl 18 necdum] adhuc C 19 ad] et C || significatione] sine significantia C 21 passionis+dominicae et resurrectionis C || eo] illo Fl 24 fuisse] *leg.* fuisset? 25 >lunam et diem C || obseruari Fl

3. Resurrexit enim Christus in aequinoctio ueris luna plena, die dominica: quae in mundi conuenire principium Genesis relatione cognoscimus, cum primum apparente *arida* quam *uocauit Deus terram* dictum est: *Germinet terra omnem fenum et omne uiride lignum*[1]. In uere autem germinare omnia uidimus, atque ita in eo principium mundi esse comprehendimus: propterea et scriptura proprie *mensem nouorum* appellat in quo *terrae facies innouatur*[2]. Sed cum tres menses uernum tempus accipiat,

[1] Gen. i. 10, 11. [2] Ps. ciii. (civ.) 30.

3 aparente A 5 terre A

autem in primis iudicauerunt, cum per singulos annos paschae tempus non conueniret ad lunam et ad diem, melius esse tempus extendere, quam non lunam diemque retinere. Primum quia duae res iustius praeberentur; deinde quia haec uiderentur in obseruatione potiora: [quod suo loco quatenus iudicauerunt, aperiemus]. Definiamus igitur, quis primus mensis in mensibus anni: deinde quis primus eius dies. Diximus ergo argumentum habuisse maiores nostros ex tempore passionis et resurrectionis Domini.

3. Resurrexisse enim traditur Dominus viii kal. Apriles, dominica die: quinta feria autem praecedente pascha cum discipulis comedisse, quod fuit xi kal. Apriles. Rationem hanc temporis huius habuerunt quod creatura, quam liberabat in sanguine suo, in eo tempore seruituti fuerat subiugata. Probandum itaque nobis est in hoc tempore mundi initium constituisse. Inchoasse mundum ueris tempore Genesis docet; cum primum apparente arida, quam uocauit Deus terram, dictum est: *Germinet terra omne foenum, et omne pabulum, et omne uiride ligni, quod fuerat semen secundum genus suum.* In uere enim germinare omnia uidemus, atque ita in eo esse principium mundi non dubitamus. Sed cum tres menses uernum tempus habeat, horum

2 pascha et Fl || conuenire et ad lunam et diem non posset C 3 esset C || *om* non C 4 quia d. r.] que duo uni C 5 praeberentur] referuntur C || uidentur C 6 suo loco C 7 aperiamus C 8 quis] quos C || eiusdem C || Dicimus C 9 *om* ergo C 11 *om* enim C || viii] vi C 12 in diae dominica C || precedente C, -em Fl 13 manducasse C, *pr* suis C || xi] viii C 14 Rationem + autem C || temporis huius] cuius temporis C || habemus C 15 *om* in 1° C || eodem C 16 seruitute C 17 uobis Fl || *om* mundi C 18 Inchoasse] et in co cesse C || temporum C 19 aparente C, appareret Fl 20 fenum C 21 *om* et omne C || uiridę et lignum C || fuerat] ferat C, fecerat Fl 22 *om* suum C || In uere enim] Ver enim C, In quo Fl

horum trium medium tempus initium mundo dedisse monstratur: medium enim tempus ueris est aequinoctium, in quo lux et tenebrae consistunt aequales, cum diuisit Deus sicut scriptum est *inter medium lucis mediumque tenebrarum*[1]. Nec dubia fides est de iustitia et beniuolentia Dei, qui cum fecerit mundum lumen et tenebras statuerit aequales, ut deinde lux cresceret et tenebrae decrescerent. Sed cum hic dies medium ueris obtineat, non sine causa maiores nostri supra viii kal. Aprilis tres addiderunt dies, ut primum diem mundi constituerent. xi° enim kalendarum Aprilium primum esse uoluerunt, quia, antequam sol *in diei principium*[2] conderetur, triduum ante praecesserat. Refert enim Genesis quarta die facta *luminaria* solis et lunae. Propterea inuenimus et in viii k. quidem resurrexisse, uerum in xi° kalendarum die pascha cum discipulis inchoasse. Ita isti tres dies cum passione et resurrectione communicant, et aequinoctium ad omnes intellegitur pertinere, in quibus cursum nec sol nec luna conficit.

4. Diem autem dominicam primam diem esse dubitare non possumus, quia dicit scriptura *sex diebus factum esse mundum et septima die requieuisse*[3], quam

[1] Gen. i. 18. [2] Gen. i. 16 LXX. [3] Exod. xx. 11.

3 lux et] luxit A || tenebre *et alibi* A || equalis A 5 iusticia A || beneuolencia A 7 aequalis A 8 Sed cum] secum A || mediu A || obteneat A 9 viiii kł aprile A 10 constituerent] e *sup. ras.* A 13 precesserat A 16 inchoasse] h *sup. lin. pr. m.* A 20 esse] etse A 22 mundum] inmundum A || septimum dierum A (=die dñm or dñi ?)

trium medius est, qui initium mundo dedit. Nec solum mensis medius, sed etiam dies mensium medii. Ex quinto enim id. Februar. ueris est inchoatio; in v id. Mart. unus est mensis, ex v id. Martii in viii kal. April. quindecim dies sunt, id est, medietas mensis. Ita unus et dimidius mensis subsequitur, viii kal. April. autem aequalis est nox et dies, sicuti factum mundi initium Genesis docet, dicens: *Diuisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras, et uocauit lucem diem et tenebras uocauit noctem.* Omnis enim diuisio aequalitatem habet; ita in quo aequalitatem noctis et diei inuenimus, in eo initium mundi constitutum intellegamus. Sed non sine causa maiores nostri super viii kal. April. tres dies addiderunt, ut primum diem mundi inuenirent. xi kal. April. primum mundi esse diem, maiores nostri existimauerunt: quia antequam sol in principio diei conderetur, triduum ante praecesserat. Refert enim Genesis, iv die facta luminaria Solis et Lunae; propterea inuenimus Christum viii kalend. April. resurrexisse, uerum xi kalend. die pascha cum discipulis inchoasse, quo die primum subiecta fuerat creatura seruituti suae, quam per passionem suam uenerat liberare.

4. Diem autem dominicam primam diem esse mundi, dubitari non potest, quia dicit scriptura, *sex diebus factum esse mundum et septima die requieuisse Deum*, quam

1 inicium C || Nec] neque C 2 medii] medius C 3 >id. enim C || *om* est C || incoacio C 4 *om* unus...Martii Fl || id.+autem C 6 demedius C* || viii+enim Fl 7 *om* autem Fl || equalis C || dies et nox, sicut C 8 dicens+et C 9 uocauit+Deus C 10 *om* ita C 11 in qua equalitate C 12 >mundi c. C 14 addiderunt+dies C || xi *pr* In C 15 mensem mundi et Fl || estimauerunt C 16 p. diei] principatum mundi Fl 19 viii kalend. April.] in diae vi. kł ap̄ C || uirum in viii kł ap̄. diem paschae obseruasse quod primum dię subiecta fuerit C 21 *om* suae C 23 diem esse] die mense C 25 requiesse C

septimam sabbatum appellauit. Vnde manifestum est primam diem in prima feria, quod est dominicum, constitisse. Siue enim hoc secundum mundum siue secundum Spiritum conputemus, ex una origine inueniemus conputationis utriusque rationem, quia ad imaginem Spiritus septiformis et saeculi huius dierum septenarius numerus constitutus est. Similiter cum dicat Genesis *facta esse duo luminaria in caelo ut luceant super terram, solem in inchoationem diei lunam in inchoationem noctis*[1], plenam lunam intellegimus esse generatam, ut facta *ad inluminationem terrae in inchoationem* noctis tota in terra nocte luceret. Sic passionis dominicae resurrectio, quae creaturam seruitio liberauit, in aequinoctio ueris luna plena dominica die traditur extitisse; sed quia (sicut conputatio inuenit) concurrere sibi per singulos annos in uniuersitate non poterat, ut scilicet aequinoctio et luna plena et dies dominica conuenirent (sequenti enim anno in eodem die lune xxv secunda feria deprehensa est), iudicatum est aequinoctium ad natalem paschae, cum duae illae partes, et dies et luna, deessent non sufficere. Itaque rectius aestimatum est, ad natalem paschae diem mensem integrum relaxari, in quacumque eius parte et dies et luna concurrerent. Neque hoc sine auctoritate scripturae. Ait enim Moyses cum pascha mandaret: *Mensis hic uobis initium mensuum, primus erit uobis in mensibus anni*[2], quo uerbo totum mensem ad celebrationem paschae intellegitur consecrasse. Ita maiores nostri, qui undecimum k. Apr.

[1] Gen. i. 14, 16. [2] Ex. xii. 2.

6 septinarius A 8 luminariae in caelum A || lucerent M 12 totam A || dominice A 14 ueris] ueri ri *sup. duo litt. ras.* A 18 xxv *pro* xv *aut* xiv (?) A 20 due illi A 21 *om* non sufficere A || stimatum A 22 relaxari] relari *sic* A, *ital. M* 24 auctoritatis scripture A

septimam diem sabbatum appellauit; unde est manifestum, primum mundi diem in prima feria quod est dominicum fuisse, et plenam lunam factam intellegimus, quia facta est in inchoatione noctis, et principatus. Sed hoc sicuti computatione ostenditur, percurrere sibi per singulos annos non poterat, ut scilicet, xi kal. April. die semper, et luna xiv die dominica inueniatur. Sequenti autem anno, xi kalend. April. inuenitur luna xxv et feria ii. Itaque cum duae res, et luna et dies, commutatae inueniantur, recte xi kal. April. natalis mundi obseruari uisus est. Itaque maiores nostri iudicauerunt mensem integrum esse obseruandum ad natalem mundi, et pascha celebrandum, in quacumque parte eius et dies et luna concurrerent. Neque enim hoc sine scripturae auctoritate. Ait enim Moyses: *Mensis hic uobis initium mensium est, primus erit in mensibus anni.* Quo uerbo totum mensem ad natalis mundi diem consecrauit. Ita maiores nostri, qui xi kalend. April. diem natalem mundi inuenerunt, mensem primum constituentes in xi kalend. Maias definierunt. Sic pascha nec ante xi kal. April. nec post xi kal. Maias celebrare licebit. Sed cum in hoc mense, et luna et dies conuenissent, luna scilicet xiv et dies dominica, tunc pascha celebraretur. Sane quia rursus frequenter luna xiv cum dominica die non concurreret, extendi lunam in vii dies maluerunt, dummodo

1 manifestum + est C 2 primam diem mundi dominicam Fl 3 et plenam] Similiter autem in quarto diae mundi primam lunam C 4 principatus] primatu C 5 secuti C || conpulatio ostendit C || currere C 6 potest Fl || *om* ut Fl || *om* die C 7 die] et dies C || inuenitur C 8 autem] enim C || xi] *pr* in C 9 dies dominica commotate C 10 rectae C, *pr* non C || uisum C 12 >ad n. m. o. esse C || *om* et p. c. C 13 quacumque] qua > et luna et dies C || concurreret C 14 Neque enim] et neque C || >auctoritate scribturae C 15 Moysis C 18 natalem C 19 *om* in C 20 diffinierunt C 21 licet C 22 >et dies et luna C 23 *om* pascha C || sanae C 25 malluerunt C

principium anni inuenerunt, mensem exinde conputantes in xi k. Mai tetenderunt. Sic pascha nec ante undecimo k. Apr. nec post xi k. Mai celebrari posse decretum est, sed cum in hoc mense et luna et dies conuenissent, luna scilicet plena et dominica dies, tunc pascha censitum est celebrandum. Sane quia rursus frequenter cum dominica die lunae plenitudo non conuenit, extendi lunam in septem dies maluerunt, dummodo diem dominicam in resurrectionis memoriam retinerent. Ita quando dies sic uenerit, usque ad xxi am lunam propter dominicam diem pascha differimus. Quod ipsum non sine scripturae auctoritate; dicit enim Moyses a quartodecimano usque ad uigesimum totos septem dies paschae sanctificatos esse debere: unde ad hunc numerum extendi lunam posse decretum est.

5. Prudenter autem magis ad lunam et diem quam ad aequinoctium natalem paschae redigerunt. Luna enim plena totas noctis inluminat tenebras, sicut nos a corruptela tenebrarum inluminatio Spiritus liberauit, et post aequinoctium pascha in maiore iam luce et in minore iam nocte celebrabitur. Dominica uero dies resurrectio est dierum, ad initium enim redit et finem renouat ad uitam. Ita haec magis uisa sunt in natali laetitiae et creaturae liberatione seruanda, maxime cum intra primi mensis terminos retinentur. Rursus maiorem diei relegionem quam lunae iudicauerunt, si quando non posset utrumque seruari; decimamquartam enim

2 *om* in A || extenderunt *M* 4 in *add. post sup. lin.* A 7 luna plenitudinem A || *om* lunam *M* 8 malluerunt A || diem] uiam A, etiam *M* 11 auctoritatem A 12 xiiii o usque uigesimo A 13 sanctificatus A 14 extendi] ten *sup. lin.* A || luna A, >posse lunam *M* 16 redierunt A, *ital. M*, *pr* diem *M* 17 plena] p *in ras.* A || totius *M* 19 pascha + celebretur *per errorem* A*M* || maiorem A || lucem A 20 minorem A 22 reuocat A*M* || *om* sunt || M natali] ta *add. pr. m.* A 23 maxime] e *add. pr. m.* A 24 retinentur A 25 iudicauerunt A*M*

diem dominicam in resurrectionis laetitiam retinerent. Ita quando sic dies uenerit, usque ad xxi lunam, propter dominicam diem pascha differimus semper, ut nec ante xi kal. April. nec post xi kal. Maias celebretur; si inuentum est, ut mensis et dies et luna in celebratione paschae retineretur.

5. Prudenter igitur magis ad lunam et diem quam ad xi kal. April. natalem mundi redigerunt. Luna enim plena totas noctis inluminat tenebras, et dominica dies resurrectio est dierum: ad initium enim redit, et finem dierum renouat. Haec magis erunt in natalis laetitia et in creaturae liberatione seruanda, maxime cum intra primi mensis terminos retinentur. Rursum, maiorem diei religionem quam lunae dicarunt. xiv enim lunam egredimur, diem autem nunquam egredimur, quia tota salus est in resurrectione diei. Dies autem dominica et initium dierum habet et resurrectionem, propter quod in ipsa Dominus resurrexit: luna uero, licet usque ad

2 Ita] Ideo C || ueniret C || ad *ras.* C 3 differimus] distulimus C || ut] *pr* tamen || nec] neque *bis* C 4 celebremus C || si] sic Fl 7 Prouidentes C || igitur] autem C || diem *pr* ad C 8 natalem] *pr* ad Fl || redigemur Fl 9 plena] prima Fl 11 renouat] reuocat C || Haec] *pr* Ita C || erant C 12 laeticiam C, *pr* mundi C 13 retinerentur C 14 religionem] rationem C || dicarunt] iudicauerunt C 15 lunam...quia] luna quam diem dominicam egredi maluerunt que C 16 *om* diei C 17 initium] ortum C

lunam quam diem dominicam egredi maluerunt; quia tota salus in resurrectione est, quod in diem dominicam esse monstrauimus, in qua et ortus dierum et resurrectio continetur, propter quod in ipsa Dominus resurrexit. Luna uero, licet usque ad uigesimam primam partem extensa non totam impleat noctem, plurimum tamen noctis inluminat, et superat in quo prudenter maiores nostri maluerunt usque ad uigesimam primam extendi quam ante decimam quartam pascha celebrari, quia post tergum tenebras melius est relinquere, quam antecedentes non posse superare. Itaque hanc summam et hanc conclusionem in pinace constituto a maioribus inuenimus, pascha neque ante xi° k. Ap. neque post xi° k. Mai posse celebrari. Cuius obseruationis ratione narrata reliqua persequimur, ut imagini illi, in qua Iudaeis pascha mandatum est, ueritatem conparemus in Christo.

6. Ouis *masculus inmaculatus anniculus* in pascha Iudaeis mandatur occidi. Hic est Christus patiens iniuriam qui *sicut agnus ductus est ad occisionem*[1]. *Masculum* non tantum ad sexum sed et ad animi firmitatem referre debemus. *Inmaculatum* ostendit scriptura quae dicit quod *peccatum in eo non fuit nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius*. *Anniculus* ex eo dicitur quod in eo totius orbis spatia continentur et, sicut anni aetas in quatuor temporibus et xii mensibus conputatur, sic fides in quatuor euangeliis et xii apostolis continetur. Hic

[1] Is. liii. 7.

1 luna A || quam in die dominica *M* 4 propterea *M* 6 *om* extensa *M* 10 ergum A || melius] uie (ie in ras) illius A, uiae illius *M* 12 penace A 14 ratione] narratione A*M* 15 narrata *pro* enarrata ? A*M* || prosequimur *M* || qua a *add. pr. m.* A 18 Omnes masculos A 19 iudeis A 21 sextum *M* et *sup. lin. pr. m.* A 25 tocius A || spacia A || sicut t *sup. lin.* A 26 conputatur n *sup. lin. pr. m.* A 27 continentur A*M*

xxi partem extensa non totam compleat noctem, plurimum tamen noctis illuminat, et post se quidem reliquit tenebras, sed eas quae in ante sunt superat; in quo maiores nostri maluerunt usque ad xxi lunam extendi, quam ante xiv pascha celebrari; quia relinquere tenebras post tergum melius est, quam antecedentes non posse superare. Itaque hanc summam, et hanc conclusionem, in pinnace a maioribus constituto inuenimus pascha neque ante xi kal. April. nec post xi kal. Maias posse celebrari. Cuius pinacis constituendi quae fuerit ratio, in quo mediocritas nostra potuit, ediximus, per gratiam Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, cui est honor, et gloria in saeculis, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

1 conplet C 2 *om* et C || *om* se C 3 relinquet C || antea C 4 quo + prouidenter C || xxi lunam] xx Fl || extendi + pascha C 5 *om* pascha C 6 postergum C 7 posse superare] uincere C || hac summa et hac conclusione quae a maioribus constitutum est pascha Fl 9 nec] neque C 10 pinnacis C 11 in quo] ut C || *om* nostra Fl 12 gratiam] gloriam C || *om* nostri Iesu C 13 *om* in saeculis et C || secula seculorum C

ex ouibus et haedis iubetur adsumi. Quod Hebraei ita intellexerunt ut, si agnus non esset inuentus, haedus inmaculatus immolaretur in pascha; quod longe aliter est dictum. Nam ex permixto semine haedorum et ouium postulatus est agnus: quod quidem natura non recipit. Sed in Christi figura monstratum est, quia genus eius ex Israelitis et alienigenis Moabitis inuenitur esse permixtum. Dominus autem agnos iustis haedos peccatoribus conparauit ita, quia ipse originem secundum carnem non solum ex Iudeis sed ex peccatoribus gentibus esset habiturus. Agnus *ex haedis et ouibus* postulatur qui *ad uesperam* mandatur occidi, in occasu enim et fine mundi passus ostenditur, nam tempus hoc nostrum nouissimos saeculi dies Dominus apostolique docuerunt. Quod uero *de sanguine* agni *domus super limen* consignari iussit ne a *uastatore*[1] angelo tangeretur, ostendit crucis signum, quo fronte signamur, figuram sanguinis obtinere quo liberandus est populus: hoc autem signaculo ab angelo uastatore defendimur. Commedere huius agni *carnes* iubemur, sicut Christus ait: *Nisi quis commederit carnem meam non habet uitam manentem*[2]. Caro autem Christi uerbum est Dei qui *uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis*[3]. Sic istas carnes *assatas* commedere mandamur, *crudas* elixasque prohibemur; cocta enim Christi uerba non cruda, probata in multo temptationis ardore nec mollia nec fluxa nec soluta

[1] Exod. xii. 23. [2] Io. vi. 53. [3] Io. i. 14.

1 Quod A*] quo A *corr.* *M* || ebrei A 2 hedus *et alibi* A 3 immolaretur] o *sup. lin.* A 5 postolatus A 8 agnus A*M* || istis *M* || hoedus *M* 10 solum ex Iudaeis] solo dei A || solum a Deo *M* 11 esset] esse A*M* 14 seculi A, + et (?) *ras.* A 16 tangaretur A 17 quod A*M* 18 qui (quia *M*) liberandus est populus *haec uerba post* iubemur *habent* A*M* 20 carnis A || ait *add. sup. lin. pr. m.* A 23 habitabit A 24 proibemur A 26 soluta deliciis] solui adiliciis A, nec labi facilia *M*

deliciis. Haec cum *azymo* pane sumenda sunt, sicut apostolus ait: *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, itaque celebremus illud non in fermento malitiae et nequitiae sed in azymis sinceritatis et ueritatis*[1]. Addi azymis *amaritudines* herbarum docet, quia *angusta et tribulosa est uia quae ducit ad uitam*[2]. *Lumbos* praecipit zona constringi, ne libidinis luxoria resoluantur. *Calciamenta in pedibus* esse, sicut apostolus mandat *calciare pedes nostros in euangelio pacis* oportere[3]: constanter enim euangelizare non possumus, nisi gressus nostros contra omnes iniurias et dolores quodam sensus munimine uestiamus. *Baculus* esse debet *in manibus*, quia in hac uia uitae, sicut baculus, stabilimentum est et disciplina. Ideo Salamon non uetat baculum de filii capite remoueri ostendens in disciplinam[4]. Haec autem monet omnia *in festinatione* facienda, quia tardus et lentus in Dei gratia non probatur. Stare ergo nos in procinctu oportet *similes hominibus*[5] profecturis, *ut cum* uocauerit nos Dominus non moremur. Ita demum enim euadentes *interitus seruitute*[6] perueniemus ad regnum Dei, in quo praeparat nobis delectabiles mansiones qui nos uocauit per Christum Iesum Deum et Dominum nostrum cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[1] 1 Cor. v. 7. [2] Matt. vii. 14. [3] Eph. vi. 15.
[4] Prov. xiii. 24. [5] Luc. xii. 36. [6] Rom. viii. 21.

1 Hec A 3 firmento A*M* || maliciae et nequiciae A 5 angusta A*, angustia *M* || tribulus A*M* 7 ne+in *M* || luxoriam A*M* || Calciamenta] -nta a *in ras.* A 10 gressos A 11 munimine] e *in ras.* A 13 hac] ac A 15 *om* in *M* 16 festatione A 20 interitu A*M* 21 praeparauit *M* 22 cuius *M*

ii. *Ad lapsam uirginem libellus*

(A) *Ps. Ambrosius de lapsu uirginis*

A = Ms. d'Autun 17 A. Saec. x.
E = Ms. d'Épinal 68. Saec. vii. viii.
m = Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xvi. opp. s. Ambrosii.

1. Quale malum est, fratres carissimi, ubi homo peccatum suum non ultro confitetur et paenitet, quam celans mala inuitus detegatur et nolens publicetur. Quid taces anima; quid cogitationibus aestuas; quid non erumpis in uocem, et mentis tuae exponis ardorem, ut aliquod solacium capias? Hoc plane, hoc erit quasi remedium quoddam aegritudinis tuae, si aperto ore conceptum digeras scelus. Nam ulcus tumidum quamuis graue, cum fuerit apertum, euaporans praestat refrigerium passionis.

2. Audite nunc, qui prope estis, et qui longe, qui timetis Dominum, et ecclesiae eius gaudio congaudetis, et tristitiae conlugetis. Vos, inquam, appello qui charitatem Christi uerissimam retinetis, et non super iniquitatem gaudetis, sed potius ingemescitis. Aduertite uerba oris mei, et an iniusto dolore procedant, iudicate.

3. Virgo nobilis, dicata Christo, sapiens, ruit in

Incipit epistula (-ola A) Nicetae (Nicaeti E) episcopi de lapsu Susannae deuotae et ciusdam lectoris AE

4 Quid] *Hic inc.* A*m* 6 solatium E*m* || om hoc 2° A 7 egritudinis AE 8 Nam + et *m* || > quamuis tumidum *m* 9 *om* graue *m* 10 passione A 11 Audi te *sup. lin.* E] + me *m* || *tr.* longe...prope A || qui 3°] *pr* et *m* 13 conlugitis e *sup. lin.* A] + sicut scriptum est: *Gaudere cum gaudentibus, et flere cum flentibus* (Rom. xii. 15) *m* 14 non super iniq. *supr. ras.* E, > super iniq. non *m* 15 ingemiscitis E*m* 16 quae ex iusto *m* || proccedant E, procedunt *m* || iudicate] + et detecti sceleris qualitatem mecum pariter perhorrete *m* 17 sapiens + erudita *m*

foueam turpitudinis, *concepit dolorem, et peperit iniquitatem*[1]*:* se perdidit, et ecclesiam maculauit. Hinc omnis anima Christiana graue uulnus excepit; quia datum est sanctum canibus, et margaritae missae sunt ante porcos[2]: a rabidis enim hominibus nomen laceratum est sanctitatis, et ab inmundis et luteis pretiosum conculcatum est propositum castitatis.

4. Hinc aestus animo meo, hinc insanabilis dolor, quia unum malum bona plurima secum trahit: et unius anima peccatricis totam paene lucem obscurauit ecclesiae: *Audite me, omnes populi, et uidete dolorem meum: uirgines meae et iuuenes mei abierunt in captiuitatem*[3]. Vere haec est captiuitas, ubi animae peccato captiuae ducuntur. Adsumam ergo uocem propheticam et flebiliter dicam.

5. Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo est, quae caput horum causa malorum es, quae multipliciter misera cum gloria uirginitatis nomen etiam perdidisti: nefas est enim Suzannam uocari non castam; non potes nominari quod non es. Vnde incipiam? quid primum, quid ultimum dicam? Bona commemorem quae perdidisti? aut mala defleam quae inuenisti?

6. Eras uirgo Dei, eras sponsa Christi, eras templum Domini, eras habitaculum Spiritus sancti. Et cum dico totiens eras necesse est totiens ingemescas: quia non es

[1] Ps. vii. 15. [2] Mat. vii. 6. [3] Lam. i. 18.

1 *om* et A 2 Hic AE 4 >sanctum d. est *m* 5 Arabiis A 6 praeciosum E 8 Hic *bis* AE || aestuans AE 9 et] ut A 10 anima] nubecula *m* || pene *m* || ecclesiae + Assumam ergo uocem propheticam, et flebiliter dicam *m* 13 peccato] *pr* a *m* 14 Adsumam... dicam] ad mortem, et a diabolica dominatione possidentur *m* 16 est] sit *m* 17 horum + et *m* 19 Susannam A || potes] licet lilium *m* || nominare A 22 aut] an *m* || deflem E 23 Dei *pr* in paradiso *m*] + utique inter flores ecclesiae *m* 24 Dei A*m* || sancti + eras AE 25 tocies, -ties *m bis* A*m* || ingemiscas *m*

quae fuisti. Incedebas in ecclesia tamquam columba illa, de qua scriptum est: *Pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi eius in specie auri*[1]. Splendebas ut argentum, fulgebas ut aurum, cum sincera conscientia procedebas.

7. Quae est ista subita conuersio, quae repentina mutatio? De Dei uirgine facta es corruptio Satanae, de sponsa Christi scortum exsecrabile, de habitaculo Spiritus sancti tugurium diaboli, de templo Domini fanum inmunditiae. Quae fueras ut stella radians in manu Domini, ueluti de alto ruens caelo, lumen tuum exstinctum.

8. Vae tibi, misera, et iterum uae, quae tanta bona propter parui temporis luxuriam perdidisti! Quam tibi spem apud Dominum Christum reliquisti, cuius membra tollens fecisti membra meretricis[2]? Quis te Spiritus sanctus uisitabit, cum eum repudiaueris, qui se quoque a cogitationibus sordidis longe facit?

9. Sed ueniamus ad humana, ut per illa diuina agnoscantur. Aspice, filia, quis sanctorum, quae sanctarum tibi adproximare non horreat: aperi oculos; si potes, erige frontem, si audes, aliquem sanctorum fiduci-

[1] Ps. lxvii. 14. [2] 1 Cor. vi. 15.

1 quae] quod *m* || tanquam E*m* 2 scribtum E || collumbae E 4 aurum] + quando *m* 5 procedebas + Eras tamquam stella radians in manu Domini, nullum uentum, nullas belli nebulas pertimescebas *m* 6 *om* est *m* || subito AE, subitanea *m* || conuersatio AE, + u *ras.* E || repentina] *pr* ista *m* 8 schortum AE 9 diabuli E || > de templo Dei fanum inmunditiae, de habitaculo Spiritus sancti tugurium diaboli *m*] + Quae incedebas cum fiducia ut columba, nunc lates in tenebris sicut stellio. Quae fulgebas ut aurum propter uirginitatis honorem, nunc uilior facta es luto platearum ut etiam indignorum pedibus conculceris *m* 10 *om* ut *m* 12 extinctum AE + est E*m*, + et conuersa es in carbonem *m* 15 aput E || > Christum Dominum *m* 16 Quis] Quid A*m* 17 > a cog. quoque *m* 18 fecit E 19 *om* per AE 20 noscantur *m* || *om* filia *m* || sanctorum] + aut *m* 21 approximare *m* || oculos + tuos *m*

aliter intuere. Nonne faciem conscientia commissi tamquam plumbum inclinat et premit? Nonne tenebrae ante oculos tuos et dura caligo uersatur? Nonne timor et tremor[1] animam tuam et membra quassauit?

10. Quid facies coram castis apostolis? Quid facies coram Helia, Danihelo, et tantorum exercitu prophetarum? Quid facies coram angelis sanctis? Nonne splendore et claritate inmaculatorum quasi fulminibus percussa combureris?

11. Sed dictura es forsitan: Non potui sustinere; quia carne fragili circumferebar. Respondebit tibi beata Thecla cum suis innumerabilibus sociis: Et nos eadem carne amictae fuimus, nec tamen plenum propositum castitatis nostrae fragilitas carnis potuit mutilare, aut saeuitia tyrannorum per uaria tormenta potuit deicere. Reuera non potest caro corrumpi, nisi mens fuerit ante corrupta. Remanebit ergo in crimine anima, quae carnem praecedit in crimine.

12. Sed dicis: Nolui hoc malum sed passa sum uiolentiam. Respondebit tibi fortissima illa Susanna, cuius tu nomen fallaciter baiulabas: Ego inter duos

[1] Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 15, Eph. vi. 5, Phil. ii. 12.

1 faciem] *pr* tuam *m* || commissa E 2 pramit *sec. man.* praemit E 3 dura] dira *m* || calligo E || uersabitur *m* 4 quassabit *m*] + Si ergo homines in carne constitutos, et, alicuius delicto obnoxios, non potes intueri, tam graui confusione sepulta *m* 6 Heliam E, Elia *m*] + et AE || danihelo A, danielem E, -e *m* || exercitum E || prophetarum] + Quid facies coram Ioanne? Quid facies coram Maria, Thecla et Agne, et immaculato choro puritatis? *m* 7 facies] facias E, denique *m* 8 immaculatorum E*m* 9 conbureris A 10 forsitam A 11 quia] qui A || carni A || carnem fragilem *m* || circumferebam *m* 12 Tecla M 14 nostrae] + aut *m* || motilare E, mundilare A 15 tyrannorum + potuit E*m* || *om* potuit E*m* || deiecere E 16 conrumpi AE 17 crimine] uoluptate *m* 19 dices *m* || *om* sed *m* 20 >uiolentiam passa sum *m* || uiolencia A, -tia E 21 bajulas *m*

presbyteros posita, inter duos utique iudices populi, sola inter siluas paradisi constituta[1] uinci non potui, quia nec uolui. Tu ab uno ineptissimo adulescente, et in media ciuitate, quomodo uim perferre potuisti, nisi quia ultro uitiari uoluisti? Quis denique tuas uoces audiuit? Quis obluctationem sensit? Vt autem hoc omittam, certe post inlatam uiolentiam detegere scelus si non aliis, uel parentibus, uel tuis sororibus debuisti: esset enim excusatio infelicitatis, esset conscientiae plena purgatio, si hostem pudicitiae tuae deduxisses in publicum.

13. Sed erubuisti forsitan, ne te uiolatam multi cognoscerent. Et quid timuisti ubi non erat timor, nisi ut tacendo crimen cum adultero sociareris? Esto. Pudor te prohibuit confiteri. Quid de secunda, quid de tertia commixtione, quid de frequenti conmercio foeditatis?

14. Horret, horret animus, mens tabescit, cum ad imum sceleris peruenitur. Nam et medicus quamuis fortis sit animi tamen cum altius secat uulnus, puto ex parte aliqua sustinebit horrorem. Heu perdita, iamne intellegis omnes uias excusationis penitus conclusisse?

[1] Dan. xiii. 20.

1 praesbiteros A 2 paradysi A 3 adolescente *m* 4 perferri A || >potuisti p. *m* 5 uiciari A 6 obluctationes *m* || haec *m* || omitam E, ommittam A 7 illatam *m* || detegere] prodere *m* 8 esset] *pr* si A 9 conscientiae plenae E 11 uiolentam A, uiolentiam E 12 Et] Vt AE 13 sociares AE, *pr* saepius *m* || Esto + autem *m* 14 *om* te *m* || secunda + commistione dicis *m* 15 *om* commixtione *m* || commercio *m* 16 fęditatis A] + Cesset, cesset iam uiolentiae figmentum, cesset ruboris argumentum; ubi toties membra illa dicata Christo, scelestissimo moecho suis uisceribus polluenda praebuisti *m* 17 *om* horret 2° A || animos Mensa A || tabescit] roubescit A, aetescit h *ras.* E 18 imum] aditum *m* 19 animo *m* || >cum alt. tamen *m* || alcius A 21 intelligis A*m*, -egis E || omnes + tibi *m* || pęnitus A, pae- E || p. conclusisse] omnimodis clausas *m*

Iamne sentis quantum tibi mali et in anima et in carne nefaria libido contulerit?

15. Non istam confusionem de te tuus sperauerat pater, qui te sibi singularem gloriam conputabat. Non hunc luctum et has lacrimas ex te sibi nasci tua crediderat mater, quae partus sui gemitum per tuam uirginitatem perpetuam solabatur. Non fratres tui, non sorores hoc ex te dedecus expectabant, quos omnes quasi uno gladio tui sceleris grauiter sauciasti. [**16**] Et si fuisses communi sorte defuncta, deflessent te modicum propter desiderium parentes: sed exultassent granditer, quia inmaculatam praemiserant uirginem, hostiam uiuam Domino, propitiatricem suorum uidelicet delictorum. At nunc plangunt mortuam, et non mortuam: lugent uiuam et non uiuam: mortuam utique gloria uirginitatis, uiuam dedecore turpitudinis.

17. Ingratus est pater suis uisceribus, de quibus sata es: maledicit mater suo utero, ex quo in hanc lucem infeliciter processisti. Nec tamen modum suo dolori repperiunt, nisi hoc plane uidentur habere solacium, quia te nec pater conpulit nec mater coegit ut uirginitatem profitereris, quam ultro et propria uoluntate professa es.

1 *om* et 1° A || >in carne et in anima *m* 3 >de te conf. *m* || sperauerat] exspectauerat *m* 4 computabat *m* 5 lacrymas *m* 6 genitum uirginitate perpetua A 7 *om* perpetuam *m* || consolabatur *m* 8 exspectabant *m* 9 tuos celeres E 10 *om* Et *m* || communis E || deflessent] flebant AE 11 exultabant AE 12 immaculatam *m* || praemisissent *m* 13 propiciatricem AE || *om* suorum *m* 14 At] ad E || mortuam 2°] mortem A 15 lugunt E 17 Iratus *m* || de] e AE || sata] seminata *m* 18 s. u. mater *m* || hoc luce AE 19 sui doloris *m* 20 reperiunt *m* || plane] *pr* solum *m* || solatium E*m* 21 compulit E 22 prophiteregis -eris *supr. lin.* A || confessa A || es + Nam scio, cum multas tibi difficultates tuus proponeret genitor, cum arduum esse iter seruandae uirginitatis ingereret; non solum pertinaciter restitisti, sed et reuelationes tibi datas dixisti terribiles. (18) In quantum ergo sibi mercedem sperabant ex eo quod tuo proposito non restiterunt *m*

18. In tantum tibi misera non intellegis pondus iudicii adcrescere: quia non seruasti quod ultro promisisti. Quibus te spiris serpens ille nequissimus obligauit? Quibus te uenenis infecit ille, qui Euam decepit; ut tanta te caecitate percuteret, tantam animi tui faceret obliuionem?

19. Non es memorata diei sancti diei dominicae resurrectionis in quo diuino altari te obtulisti uelandam? In tanto tamque solemni conuentu ecclesiae Dei, inter lumina neofitorum, inter candidatos regni caelestis quasi regina regi nuptura processeras. Non es memorata qualis ad te die illa facta sit adlocutio: Aspice filia, intuere uirgo quantus ad sponsi tui et Domini gloriam conuenerit populus? Seruare te oportet fidem quam sub tantis testibus pollicita es. Semper cogita cui uirginitatem tuam spoponderis. Facilius te oportet sanguinem cum spiritu fundere, quam perdere castitatem.

20. His tunc in illo die consecrationis tuae dictis, et multis super castitatem praeconiis, sacro uelamine tecta es; ubi omnis populus dotem tuam subscribens, non atramento sed spiritu pariter clamauit, Amen. Vincor lacrimis, cum haec recordor: compungor stimulis, cum haec humana exempla considero. Nam si inter decem testes confectis sponsalibus, nuptiis consummatis, quaeuis

1 intelligis A || intellige misera *m* 2 crescere *m* || quod] quo E || promissisti A 5 cecitate A || animae tuae *m* || facere E* t *sup. lin. corr.* 7 diei 1°] pr sancti E, sanctae *m* || *om* diei 2° *m* 8 altario E 10 neophytorum *m*] + splendida *m* 11 *om* regina *m* 12 sit] est *m* || allocutio A*m* 13 uirgo + *et obliuiscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui; et concupiscet rex decorem tuum; quia ipse est Dominus Deus tuus* (Ps. xliv. 11, 12). Reminiscere ergo quantus *m* || gloriam] nuptias *m* 14 te] et E *pr* t *corr.* || oportuit *m* 15 pollicita es (sis A *corr.*)] polliceris A*E || cogitare *m* 16 *om* tuam *m* || oportuit *m* 17 castatem E*, + tuam *m* 19 castitate *m*, + tuam *m* 20 suscribens E 22 lacrymis E*m* || conpungor A 23 haec] *pr* ad AE || *om* si AE 24 testes + es A || sponsaliis *m* || quaeuis e *ras.* A*, quam- *cor.*

femina uiro coniuncta mortali, non sine periculo perpetrat adulterium; quid ubi innumerabiles testes ecclesiae, coram angelicis exercitibus caeli facta copula spiritalis per adulterium soluitur? Nescio an possit ei condigna mors aut poena cogitari.

21. Dicit aliquis: *Melius est nubere quam uri*[1]. Hoc dictum ad nondum pollicitam pertinet, ad necdum uelatam. Ceterum quae se Christo spondit, iam nupsit, iam inmortali coniuncta est uiro. Quae si uoluerit nubere communi lege coniugii, adulterium perpetrat, ancilla mortis efficitur. Si hoc ita est, quid de te dicendum est quae occulte furtiua turpitudine constupratur, et fingit se esse quod non est? Habitu uirgo, facto non uirgo, bis adultera et in facto et in aspectu.

22. Ad te iterum redeo, quae obliuionem tantorum passa bonorum es et receptaculum tantorum facta malorum. Quomodo ergo tibi in actu illo ignominioso non ueniebat in mentem habitus uirginalis, processus ad ecclesiam inter uirgineos choros? Quomodo oculos tuos non perstringebat lux uigiliarum: aures tuas non penetrabant hymnorum spiritalium cantus: mentem tuam non uentilabat lectionum caelestium uirtus; hinc uel maxime clamante apostolo: *Fugite*, inquit, *fornicationem; quia omne peccatum quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus est; qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum*

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 9.

1 sine + magno *m* 2 ubi] quod inter *m* || eclesiae A 3 angelicis] angelis et *m* 5 aut] ac A 6 Dicet *m* || est + enim A 7 nondum... necdum] non...nondum *m* 8 caeterum E*m* || spopondit Christo *m*] + et sanctum uelamen accepit *m* 9 iuncta *m* || Quae] Et iam *m* 11 te] illa *m* 12 occulta *m*] + et *m* || turpitudinem A || finget A 13 facta A 14 facto actu *m*, factu E 15 ad] *pr* sed *m* 16 *om* es *m*, malorum facta es *m* 17 *om* ergo *m* 18 ad] in *m* 19 eclesiam A 21 penetrabat *m* 23 clamante] *pr* ad te *m* || inquid E, *om m* || furnicationem AE

peccat[1]. Et cum dicit, *in corpus suum*, tamen eum in Christo peccare demonstrat.

23. Haec tanta et terribilia non tibi ueniebant in mentem, cum ad illud opus nefarium tua membra peterentur? Sed mortifera te obliuio tanquam in gurgitem altissimum demergebat, et quasi captiuam exsecrabilis libido ducebat.

24. Nonne uel illum locum tabulis separatum, in quo in ecclesia stabas, recordari debuisti, ad quem religiosae matronae et nobiles certatim currebant, tua oscula petentes, quae sanctiores et digniores te erant? Nonne uel illa praecepta quae oculis tuis ipse scriptus paries ingerebat recordari debuisti: *Diuisa est mulier et uirgo: quae non est nupta sollicita est quae Domini sunt, quomodo sit sancta et corpore et spiritu*[2]? Tu autem ita agens, ita cogitans, ut nec corpore sis sancta, nec spiritu: corpore quidem, fornicando: spiritu autem uirginitatem mentiendo.

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 18. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 34.

1 in Christum eum *m* 2 demonstrat]+Nam subiungit: *An nescitis quoniam membra uestra templum est Spiritus sancti, quae habetis a Domino, et non estis uestri? empti enim estis pretio magno; glorificate, et portate Dominum in corpore uestro* (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20). Et iterum dicit: *Fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia nec nominetur inter uos, sicut decet sanctos* (Eph. v. 3). Et, seposita omni adulatione, sententiam figit apostolus: *Hoc*, inquit, *scitote intelligentes quia omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut auarus, non erit haeres in regno Christi et Dei* (ibid. 5) *m* 3 et+tam *m* 6 demergebant A, dimergibant E || captiuum E* 9 *om* recordari debuisti...(13) ingerebat AE 13 recordare AE 14 soll. est] cogitat *m* 15 *om* et 1° *m* || autem+in contrarium uertisti dictum *m* 16 >ita cogitans ita agens *m* || sis] esses *m* 17 quidem] quidam A 18 mentiendo] sentiendo A, +25 Proh nefas! solet fama subsequi factum, tua autem malum fama praeuenit. Nam cum ante triennium rumor quidam et sussurratio de te fuisset, tu sinceritatem praetendebas, et uindictam de maledicis in ecclesia postulabas publice. Quos aestus ego sustinui! Quos pater tuus pro tua sustinuit labores, requirentes singulos, singulos astringentes; ut ad auctorem infamiae ueniremus! Graue enim erat nobis et

27. O, quidquid praetendit sermo, crudeliora incurrunt: et cupiens moderari non inuenio. Oblita ergo propositum, oblita parentes, oblita ecclesiam totam, oblita gloriam uirginitatis, oblita honorem dignitatem etiam praesentem, oblita promissionem regni, oblita terribile iudicium, amplexa es corruptionem et protulisti fructum confusionis; finem uero mortem saeuissimam et interitum sempiternum.

28. Et certe non habes quod de nostra neglegentia conquueraris; quodcumque enim ad officium pertinuit pastoris, et tibi et omnibus non negatum est. Dilectio spiritalis adhibita, commonitio sancta non defuit. Oblita domum patris, inter tot non dicam posita tuta esse debueras, si uoluisses; sed etiam tutelam aliis praestare potuisses. Sed frustra alia sunt prouisa.

29. Frustra hymnum uirginitatis exposui in quo et gloriam propositi et obseruantiam pariter decantares. Seminaui secus uiam, seminaui in spinis, seminaui in petrosa; aut enim ex corde tuo uerba mea uolucres, id est daemones, rapuerunt: aut malis tuis cogitationibus

omnibus bonis intolerabile de Dei uirgine uel turpe aliquid dici, uel credi. 26 Nec hoc uerita es, nec ante oculos habuisti; ne uenires inimicis tuis in gaudium, et eos haberes infensos qui pro tua opinione laborabant. Multum audax, multum temeraria; ut te conscientia tua non terreret; sed simulata uirginitate, putares te etiam Deum posse decipere. Sed ille qui dixit: *Nihil occultum quod non reuelabitur* (Matt. x. 26), et *uos*, inquit, *fecistis in occulto: ego autem in manifesto faciam* (2 Reg. xii. 12). Ille qui non mentitur, furtiuum scelus deduxit in publicum, et in conspectu solis huius tenebrarum uestrarum opera denudauit *m* 1 quicquid A || crudiliora E || occurrunt *m* 2 et] ut A || inuenit *m*] + modum *m* || ergo] es *m* || oblita 2°] + es E*m* 4 dignitatis *m* 5 *om* praesentem *m* 6 > iud. terr. *m* || terribilem E || *om* et *m* 9 negligentia E*m* 10 conquaeraris A 11 pastoris pertinet *m* 12 com̄unicio A 13 patris + tui ut scriptum est (Ps. xliv. 11) ad monasterium uirginale transisti. Inter tot posita non solum dico *m* 14 > aliis tutelam A, tutellam E 15 haec et alia prouisa sunt *m* 16 *om* in *m* 17 gloria...obseruantia AE || decantaris A 18 seminaui 1°] semina AE*

suffocata sunt, aut aruerunt nimio ardore libidinis[1]. Heu me, quia ubi putabam aedificare aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, inuentus sum lignum, fenum, stipulam, materias arsuras laborasse[2]! Dicam et ego secundum prophetam: *Heu me, quia factus sum sicut qui colligit stipulam in messe*[3].

30. Et quidem si tibi soli damnum fecisses, erat quidem tristitia, sed forsitan tolerabilis. Nunc uero quantas animas tuo scelere grauiter sauciasti, quantas animas propter te de proposito suo paenitere fecisti! Quanta etiam labia fidelium inquinata sunt, uiam Domini blasphemando! Aperuit in nos gentilitas os suum: aduersus sanctam ecclesiam synagoga Iudaeorum per tuum dedecus exsultauit.

31. Quodsi is qui unum scandalizauerit, mola circumligatus praecipitari debet in mare[4]; quid de te pronuntias, per cuius scelus omnis anima sauciata est, et nomen Domini in gentibus blasphematum est? Nonne, quoties dicitur, O uirgines, tibi cumulus iniquitatis adcrescit? Iaces ecce uulnerata, iaces ecce prostrata.

32. Cupio prodesse sed subuenire non possum; quia *totum caput in dolore, et totum cor in maestitia: a pedibus usque ad caput*, sicut dixit Esaias, *non est malagma inponere*[5]. Infirmitas tua omne humanae me-

[1] Luc. viii. 5—8. [2] 1 Cor. iii. 12. [3] Michae. vii. 1.
[4] Matt. xviii. 6. [5] Is. i. 5, 6.

1 ardore] aestu *m* 3 praeciosos AE || ligna E || faenum AE 4 >ars. materias *m* 5 profetam E || collegit E 7 te solum (-am A) E 8 quidem] quaedam A || forsitam E 9 tuo+hoc A || *om* grauiter *m* || *om* quantas...fecisti AE 11 >labia etiam *m* || uia E 12 blasfemando E 13 >ecclesiam sanctam E || sinagoga A || per tuum] perpetuum AE 14 exultauit A 15 is] his A 16 praecipitari] iactari *m* || mari E 17 pronuncias A 18 blasphematur A, blasfemata E 19 quotiens A || tibi] *pr* toties *m* 20 adcrescit] augetur *m* || iacis E *bis*, A* *semel* 22 moestitia *m* 23 dixit] ait *m* || Isaias E*m* 24 mal^{a}igma A || imponere *m* || omnem E

dicinae exclusit auxilium. [**33**] *Numquid non est resina in Galaad, aut medicus non est ibi? Quare non ascendit sanitas filiae populi mei*[1]*?* Hae itaque sententiae Dei uocant ad paenitentiam peccatores, plenitudo est necessaria medicaminum.

34. Quanta putas, et qualis necessaria est paenitentia, quae aut aequet crimina, aut certe factum excedat. Et secundum conscientiae molem exhibenda est paenitentiae magnitudo. Paenitentia non uerbo agenda est, sed et actu. Haec autem si sic agatur, si tibi ante oculos proponas de quanta gloria rueris, et de quo libro uitae nomen tuum deletum sit; et si te iam positam credas prope ipsas tenebras, *ubi erit fletus oculorum et stridor dentium*[2].

[1] Ierem. viii. 22. [2] Matt. viii. 12.

1 auxilium] + Et licet tam boni quam mali iusta indignatione permoti, te omni depopulatione dignam, te omni tormentorum genere discruciandam iudicent, morte mulctandam, aut ignibus exurendam: ego tamen qui scio grauiora facinorosis seruari tormenta, et sine fine impias animas cruciatus manere, non temporales utique, sed aeternos; aliis te uolo cruciatibus affici, profuturis utique, non animam perdituris. [33] Ergo secundam diuinam sententiam dabo consilium; solum enim et unicum tentandum est remedium illud, quod diuina uox per Ezechielem miseris porrigit: *Nolo*, inquit, *mortem peccatoris*, *quantum ut conuertatur*, *et uiuat* (Ezech. xxxiii. 11). Et iterum post haec inquit Dominus: *dixi: Conuertere ad me*. *m* || > resina non est *m* 2 ascendat A 3 Haec AE || itaque] utique *m*, + dicta poenitentiam sapiunt, hae *m* 4 penitentiam E || plenitudo...] poenitudo enim lapsis necessaria est, sicut uulneratis sunt necessaria medicamina *m* || necessarium AE 6 Quanta] *pr* sed *m* 7 aut 2°] ut E || *om* factum *m* 8 excedat + Vide ergo si simplex hoc peccatum adulterii est, an duplex sit pro illa nece quae facta dicitur in occulto *m* 9 Poenitentia *m*] + ergo *m* || uerbis *m* 10 actu] facto *m* || *om* si *m* || agitur *m* 11 *om* et de...(12) sit E 12 *om* uitae A 13 > credas p. i. positam *m* || tenebras + exteriores *m* 14 dentium + sine fine. Cum haec certa fide, sicut est, animo conceperis, quia necesse est praeuaricatricem animam tartareis poenis et gehennae ignibus tradi, nec aliud remedium constitutum esse post unum baptismum quam poenitentiae solatium; quantamuis afflictionem, quantumuis laborem subire, esto contenta, dummodo ab aeternalibus poenis libereris. [35] Ergo haec tu tecum cogitans, et mente retractans, facti tui ipsa iudex esto crudelior. *m*

35. In primis omnis cura uitae huius intermittenda est tibi, et quasi mortuam te existimans, cogita, quomodo possis reuiuiscere. Deinde lugubris tibi uestis accipienda est, et mens et membra singula digna castigatione punienda. Amputentur crines, qui per uanam gloriam occasionem luxuriae praestiterunt. Defluant oculi lacrimis, qui masculum non simpliciter aspexerunt. Pallescat facies, quae quondam erubuit inpudica. Totum denique corpus incuria et ieiuniis maceretur, cinere aspersum et opertum cilicio perhorrescat; quia male sibi de pulchritudine placuit. Cor uero sit liquescens tanquam cera, ieiuniis inquietans seipsum, quare sit ab inimico subuersum. Sensus etiam crucietur; quia in membra corporis dum haberet dominationem, malum gessit imperium.

36. Talis uita, talis actio paenitentiae, si fuerit perseuerans, debes sperare, etsi non gloriam, certe poenae uacationem; dicit enim Deus: *Conuertemini ad me, et conuertar ad uos*[1]. Sicut conuersus est Dauid ille iustificatus[2]; sic Niniue[3] peccatrix ciuitas illa incumbentem euasit interitum peccatorum.

[1] Ioel ii. 12. [2] 2 Reg. xii. 13. [3] Ionae iii. 5.

1 huius + saeculi A || interimenda *m* 2 > tibi est *m* || cogita] sicut et es *m* 3 reuiuiscere + cogita *m* || lu^{g}cubris A || > acc. est uestis *m* 4 et 2°] ac *m* || singola E 5 crinis A 6 occansionem E || luxoriae A || praestiterint E || Defleant (-uant A *corr.*) occuli E || lacrymis *m* 8 quandam A*E || erupuit A, irrubuit *m* || impudice *m*, inpudoca A || > denique totum *m* 9 incura AE, iniuriis *m* || ieiuniis] *pr* in E, in^{iu}eniis A || cinerem AE || aspsum A 10 quia] quod *m* 11 liquiscens A 12 seipsum + et cogitationibus uentilans *m* 14 dum] cum *m* || malo cessit imperio *m* 17 debes] audebit *m* || pęnę A 19 uos. + Ioel ii. 12 *m* || Sicut] Sic *m* || ille Dauid *m* || iustificatus + est *m* 20 nini^{e}ue A || > illa ciuitas *m* 21 peccatorum + Peccator ergo si sibi ipsi non pepercerit, a Deo illi parcetur. Et si futuras poenas gehennae perpetuas in hoc paruo uitae spatio compensauerit, seipsum ab aeterno iudicio liberabit *m*

37. Grandi plagae alta et prolixa opus est medicina: grande scelus grandem habet necessariam satisfactionem.

38. Sed tu quae iam ingressa es agonem paenitentiae, insiste misera; fortiter inhaere tamquam naufragus tabulae, sperans te ab ipsa de profundo criminum liberari. Nec tibi praesumas ab humana die posse ueniam dari; quia decipit te quicumque hoc tibi polliceri uoluerit. Quae enim propria in Dominum peccasti, ab illo solo quaere remedium.

39. De te autem quid dicam, fili serpentis, minister diaboli, uiolator templi Dei: qui in uno scelere duo crimina perpetrasti, adulterium utique et sacrilegium? Sacrilegium plane, ubi uas Christo oblatum, Domino dedicatum, dementi temeritate polluisti. Sic Balthasar, rex ille Persarum, qui in uasis Domini, quae et a templo Hierosolymis fuerant a patre eius sublata, bibere cum suis amicis et concubinis usurpauit; ipsa nocte angeli manu percussus crudeli morte punitus est[1]: quid de te

[1] Dan. v. 30.

1 Grandis plaga AE 2 satisfactionem]+Nam non est dubium leuius esse crimen, ubi peccatum suum ultro homo confitetur et poenitet: at ubi celat mala sua, inuitus detegitur, et nolens publicatur; illud grauius scelus est. Quod tibi utique prouenisse negare non poteris. Et ideo fortius dolendum, quia peccatum est fortius. (38) Si mente cernerent homines peccatores quale iudicium emittet Deus in mundo, et sensus humanus non dispergeretur uanitati saeculari, non infidelitate grauaretur: quantumuis et qualemuis cruciatum ad praesens libentissime sufferrent, etiamsi esset longior uita; dummodo in illas poenas aeterni ignis non incurrerent *m* 4 haere E, her- A || in naufragiis *m* 5 per ipsam te *m* || liberari+Inhaere poenitentiae usque ad extremum uitae *m* 6 humano A || posset E, *om m* 7 decipet E* || quicumque] qui *m* || pollicere A || [The remaining variations in A are less interesting—generally omissions] 8 Deo E || ipso *m* 9 quaere...] te conuenit in die iudicii exspecta[...] remedium *m* 10 filio *m* || ministro *m* 11 Zaboli E || uiolator[...] 14 *om* Sic *m* || Baltasar *m* 16 hierusalem E || ablata *m* 18 pur[...] percussus E

arbitraris, perdite pariter et perditor, qui uas rationabile consecratum Christo Domino, sanctificatum a Spiritu sancto, impie temerasti, polluisti sacrilege, et tui propositi inmemor, et iudicii diuini contemptor? Melius fuerat te omnino non fuisse natum, quam sic natum ut te sibi gehenna proprium filium uindicaret.

40. Et licet te ipsa conscientia sceleris agat per diuersa praecipitem (*fugit* enim *impius nemine persequente*[1]), tamen ne quid a pastore etiam oui morbidae uel moriturae medicaminis denegatum sit, do consilium. Petas ultro carcerem paenitentiae, obruas catenis uiscera, animam tuam gemitu ieiuniisque discrucies; sanctorum petas auxilium, iacens sub pedibus electorum; ut non *tibi cor inpaenitens thesaurizet iram in die irae et iusti iudicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera eius*[2]. Nec te in eorum numerum constituas, quos luget Paulus: *Qui ante peccauerunt*, inquit, *et non egerunt paenitentiam super inmunditia et fornicatione et libidinibus quas gesserunt*[3].

41. Nec tibi de multitudine peccantium similium blandiaris, et dicas: 'Non solus ego hoc egi, multos habeo socios': sed cogita, quia multitudo sociorum inpunitatem criminum non facit. Nam Sodoma et Gomorra in totis quinque ciuitatibus innumerabiles utique

[1] Prov. xxviii. 1. [2] Rom. ii. 6. [3] 2 Cor. xii. 21.

2 *om* Domino *m* || ab E, *om m* || Spiritui *m* 3 temerario impie E 4 immemor *m* 5 > omnino te *m* || > fuisse n. n. E || *om* sic natum ut E 6 uindecaret E 7 licet] t *supr. lin. corr.* E 8 persequente + *se*, licet te dirae imagines peccati dormientem quoque perterreant, non solum uigilantem *m* 9 *om* etiam *m* 11 poenitentiae *m* || obruas] obstringas *m* || *om* uiscera E 12 gemitibus *m* || crucies *m* 13 pedebus E* 14 impoenitens *m*, in *supr. lin.* E *corr.* || *om* et E 15 reddit E || eius] sua *m* 16 lugit E 17 inquid E, *om m* || egirunt E 18 inmunditiam E || quas] quae E 21 > hoc ego *m* 22 recogita *m* || impunitatem *m* 23 > non f. criminum *m* || Sodoma] *pr* in *m* || gomorrha *m*] + et *m*

habitabant populi[1], et omnes qui libidinose corpora sua tractauerunt, imbribus igneis conflagrati sunt: solus autem Lot de illo ineuitabili fugit incendio[2], quia ab illa turpitudine se praestiterat alienum.

42. Exclude ergo uel nunc, infelix, de corde tuo blandimenta serpentis, et luctu, et fletibus continuis, dum in corpore tuo inmundo anima illa tenebrosa uersatur, remedium tibi in die necessitatis adquire, semper ante oculos tuos habens apostoli sententiam: *Quia omnes manifestari oportet ante tribunal Christi, uti ferat unusquisque propria corporis sui prout gessit, siue bonum, siue malum*[3].

43. *Quis consolabitur te, uirgo filia Sion? quia magna facta est sicut mare contritio tua. Effunde sicut aquam cor contra faciem Domini*[4]*:* extolle ad eum manus tuas pro remedio peccatorum tuorum. Accipe igitur lamentationem et nullo quidem die quinquagesimus intermittatur psalmus; quia in negotio tali cantatus est: usque ad uersiculum illum: *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit*[5].

44. Insuper etiam hanc lamentationem in conspectu Dei iudicis funde: *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum*[6], ut defleam uulnera animae meae? Conuersi sunt dies festi mei in luctum, et cantica

[1] Gen. xix. 25. [2] ibid. 29. [3] 2 Cor. v. 10.
[4] Threni ii. 13, 19. [5] Ps. l. 19. [6] Ierem. ix. 10.

1 omnes + pariter *m* || libidinosae E 2 > ignibus imbreis *m* || conflagrarunt *m* 3 Loth *m* || incendio euasit *m* 4 alienum praestiterat *m* 5 infilex E 8 acquire *m* 10 omnes + nos *m* || > op. manifestari *m* || ut *m* 11 prout] secundum quod *m* 13 consoletur *m* 15 cor + tuum *m* || contra] ante *m* 16 remedium E || lamentum *m* 17 et + primum *m* || > quidem nullo die *m* || > ps. intermittatur *m* 18 negutio E || > tali n. *m* || usque] *pr* et *m* 20 spernit + cum lacrymis gemituque percurre *m* 21 lamentationem + non sine compunctione cordis *m* 23 ut] et E 24 canticum ea E

in lamentationem[1]: recessit sonus hymnorum, et laetitia psalmorum, et successit stridor dentium et fletus oculorum. Obmutui et humiliata sum.

Sequitur in A E: Hanc epistolam sanctus emendauit Ambrosius quia ut ab ipso auctore fuerat edita non erat ita quoniam ab imperitissimis fuerat uiciata. Emendaui Mediolano.

Sequitur in Migne: et silui a bonis, et dolor meus renouatus est. Concaluit cor meum intra me, et in meditatione mea exardescit ignis[2]. *Timor et tremor uenerunt super me, et contexerunt me tenebrae. Abyssus circumdedit me, postremo demersit caput meum in scissuras montium*[3].

45. Heu me! quia facta sum *sicut Sodoma*[4] et combusta *sicut Gomorra*[5], quis miserabitur cineres meos? Durius offendi quam Sodoma; quia illa legem nescientes deliquerat, ego autem, accepta gratia, peccaui Domino. Si homo peccet in hominem, erit qui interueniat[6]: ego peccaui in Dominum, quem propitiatorem inueniam? Concepi dolorem, et peperi iniquitatem: lacum aperui et effodi eum, et incidi in foueam quam operata sum. Ideo conuersus est dolor meus in caput meum, et in uerticem meum iniquitas mea descendit[7]. Immunditia mea ante pedes meos: non fui memor nouissimorum[8], et cecidi miserabiliter.

46. Non est qui consoletur me. O quam acerbus fructus luxuriae! Amarior felle, crudelior gladio. Quomodo facta sum in desolationem? Subito defeci, perii propter iniquitatem meam uelut e somno exurgens: ideo in ciuitate Domini nullificata est imago mea[9]. Deletum est de libro uitae nomen meum[10], facta sum sicut

[1] Amos viii. 10. [2] Ps. xxxviii. 3, 4. [3] Ionae ii. 5, 6.
[4] Esa. i. 9. [5] Gen. xix. 24. [6] 1 Reg. ii. 25.
[7] Ps. vii. 15, 16. [8] Esa. xlvii. 7. [9] Ps. lxxii. 19, 20.
[10] Ps. ci. 7, 8.

1 laeticia E 3 humiliatus AE

noctua in domicilio, sicut passer unicus in aedificio; non est qui consoletur me. Considero a dextris, et uideo quia non est qui agnoscat me. *Periit fuga a me, et non est qui requirat animam meam*[1]. Facta sum sicut uas perditum, audiui uituperationem omnium circa me habitantium[2]. Vae diei illi in quo me infelix genuit mater, et lux ista crudelis excepit! Oportuerat me non fuisse natam, quam sic in gentibus fabula fierem[3]. Propter me confusio facta est omnibus famulis Domini, et eum digne colentibus.

47. Lugete me, montes et colles; lugete me, fontes et flumina; quia fletus filia ego sum. Lugete me, bestiae siluarum, reptilia terrae, et uolucres caeli, et omnis anima quae uita frueris. Nam uos beatae, ferae et uolucres, quibus nullus metus de inferis, neque post mortem reddenda est ratio; in nos manet poena crudelis tartari, quia habentes sensum, delinquimus; ideo non est pax peccatoribus.

48. Meum peccatum, mea iniquitas, non sunt similia offensis hominum; quia impietas est. Carnem pollicita seruare uirginem, et castitatem professa publice, mentita sum Domino; ideo non est mihi fiducia inuocandi Dominum altissimum, quia obstructum est os delinquentium. Nam meum malum propheta cecinit, quod qui elongant se a Deo peribunt: disperdit omnem fornicantem a se[4]. Et iterum: *Adhaesit lingua mea faucibus meis, et in puluerem mortis* deductus sum[5].

49. Verum tamen clamabo ad Dominum, cum adhuc tempus est, dum datur spatium; quia in morte non est memoria, et in inferno non est confessio: *Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me. Quoniam sagittae tuae infixae sunt mihi, nec est sanitas*

[1] Ps. cxli. 5. [2] Ps. xxx. 13, 14. [3] Job iii. 3.
[4] Ps. lxxii. 27. [5] Ps. xxi. 16.

in carne mea a uultu irae tuae: non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum. Quoniam iniquitates meae superposuerunt caput meum, et sicut onus graue grauatae sunt super me. Computruerunt et deteriorauerunt cicatrices meae, a facie insipientiae meae. Miseriis afflicta *sum et* curuata *usque in finem, rugio a gemitu cordis mei. Cor meum turbatum est intra me, dereliquit me uirtus mea, et lumen oculorum meorum non est mecum*[1]. Deus, repulisti me et destruxisti me, ostendisti mihi dura, potasti me uino compunctionis[2]; expulsa sum ab oculis tuis, iam non adiciam ut resurgam ad templum sanctum tuum, et facta sum in exterminio.

50. *Quae utilitas in sanguine tuo, dum descendi in corruptionem*[3]*? Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia, aut medici suscitabunt*[4]*?* Tuus sermo est, tua promissio est: *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed conuersionem et uiuat*[5]: ad te, Deus meus, mea conuersio: quia solus potes renouare omnia, et ab inferis animas reuocas. Tu soluis compeditos: tu, Deus, allisos erigis, caecos inluminas, mortuos suscitas.

51. *Erraui sicut ouis perdita*[6]*:* require famulam tuam, ne lupus crudelis glutiat me. *Multi dicunt animae meae: Non est salus illi in Deo eius*[7]. Sed tuum consilium tecum est. Quot sunt dies famulae tuae, quando facies meum iudicium[8]? Sed ne intres in iudicium cum famula tua[9]. *Defecit in salutari tuo anima mea, defecerunt in lacrimas oculi mei, effusa est in terram gloria mea*[10]. *Quando respiciens restitues animam meam*[11]*? Propter iniquitatem meam corripuisti me, et tabescere fecisti sicut araneam animam meam*[12]. *Memento, Domine, quod puluis*

[1] Ps. xxxvii. 1—11. [2] Ps. lix. 3, 5. [3] Ps. xxix. 10.
[4] Ps. lxxxvii. 11. [5] Ezech. xxxiii. 11. [6] Ps. cxviii. 84.
[7] Ps. iii. 3. [8] Ps. cxviii. 84. [9] Ps. cxlii. 2.
[10] Ps. cxviii. 81, 83. [11] Ps. xxxiv. 17. [12] Ps. xxxviii. 12.

sum; uide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et remitte omnia peccata mea[1]. *Remitte mihi ut refrigerer, priusquam abeam, et amplius non ero*[2], nec in inferno erit confessio.

52. Potens es, Domine, conscindere saccum et praecingere me laetitia[3]: dirumpere uincula mea, quibus ligata sum atque constricta, qui Rahab sordidam non aspernatus es[4]. Iram tuam, Domine, aufer a me, quia peccaui tibi crudeliter, donec iustifices causam meam, et educas me in lumine. Deus uirtutum, da paenitentiae effectum, confessioni perseuerantiam; ne me induret deceptor animae. Hoc mihi donum, hanc mihi gratiam de tuo fonte praestari cupio, Deus; ut in aeternum tibi confitear: qui uiuis et regnas in Trinitate in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

(B) *Epistula MS. Corbeiensis*

Cod. Paris. lat. 12097 *saec.* vi.

Deest initium.

...meriti agitur, et inoboedientiae poena iudicio ultionis exigitur. Sed quid in hoc loco habes dicere? Forsitan calumniari temptabis, ut dicas me contra auctoritatem scripturae agere, ut paenitentiae tibi remedium suggerendo coniugii separationem uelle suadere existimer; et illa forsitan ad arguendum me in hoc loco Domini uerba praesumes, quibus in libro Geneseos de primordiali et honesta institutione coniugii dixerat: *Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae*[5].

[1] Ps. xxiv. 13. [2] Ps. xxxviii. 14. [3] Ps. xxix. 12. [4] Ios. vi. 17. [5] Gen. ii. 24.

17 habis *cod.* 19 scriptura|e *lit. ras.* 20 uellem 24 adherebit

Quod utique de legitimo coniunctionis humanae consortio scriptura signauit. Non enim dixit: Relinquet homo Deum patrem et ecclesiam matrem, et uirgo sacrata Dei filium sponsum, et transibit ad hominem fracta fide Christo, et adhaerebit inlicite praeoptato uiro. An et illam Domini sententiam pro te facere putabis, qua secundum primordialem et de libro memorato huius sanctissimi foederis copulam dixit: *Quod Deus iunxit, homo non separet*[1]? Ego autem hac sententia aduersus hoc factum tuum utar. Contra Deum enim id operata es, quod homini in hominem committere non licet: quia sanctum illud et inuiolabile atque perpetuum et spiritale coniugium sacrilego rupisti diuortio. Ecce quam Deus iunxer[illegible] Christo homo separauit a Christo.

Me uero in tantum salutis et resurrectionis tu[illegible] cupidum esse protestor, ut (etiam ipsa intellegis) utcumqu[illegible] tibi iuncto homini cupiam et optem similem dari mentem[illegible] ut et ipse intellegens inlicitae societatis uestrae connubium conuertatur ad Dominum, et in melius placitum adfectione[illegible] mutata tecum habeat in paenitendo consensum, ut ex indulgentia Dei possit habere salutis consortium. Quod si ambo respuitis, mihi circa utrumque uestrum protestato parentis adfectu praedixisse sufficiet; uos autem non oboedisse salubri patris uel sacerdotis consilio paenitebit. Et quem fructum contumaciae huius habebitis, si spernentes haec mea uerba ridere potius quam lugere in tanti peccati coniugio uolueritis, cum de utriusque uel fletus

[1] Matt. xix. 6.

2 relinquid   12 adque   18 inlicite || societatis -es * ?   19 placito
22 respuetis   25 contumacie

2 **signauit**] cf. *de symb.* 2 consignat Johannes; *de uig.* 6 ut de nouo etiam testamento uigiliarum gratia consignetur.

15 **salutis et res. tuae**] cf. *de symb.* 11; *de rat. paschae* 5.

uel gaudii genere in euangelio scriptum sit et diuino ore signatum: *Vae ridentibus, quoniam ipsi lugebunt* et *Beati lugentes, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur*[1]? Itaque hoc potius in eo uoto uestroque commodo feceritis, si mortiferae securitati atque laetitiae salutaris paenitentiae lacrimas praeferatis: ut Dominum maiestatis in illo magno retributionis die satisfactionis uestrae remissorem potius quam iniuriae suae habeatis ultorem.

Nam quod a persona regali, ut audiui, talium nuptiarum ueniam supplicando inpetrare tibi uisa es, non te securam ad iudicium Dei faciat, quia scriptum est: *Non sicut homo Deus fallitur, nec ut filius hominis conminatur*[2]. Magis autem haec ipsa supplicatio tua recte intellegenti debet ostendere, si innocens factum sit quod eget uenia, aut si crimine caret tale coniugium cui indulgentia postulatur. Confitetur enim precator ipse, quod inlicitam rem conmiserit, de qua sibi orat ignosci. Ita ipse suis uerbis arguitur suoque iudicio condemnatur, qui dum rogat beneficium inpunitatis, fatetur admissum damnationis. Nulla est enim causa criminis deprecandi et remissionis petendae, nisi quia damnari potest legibus id, quod indulgendum poscitur, nisi priuilegio relaxetur. Non longe abest a tali specie beneficii paenitendo operi citra paenitentiam tributa communio. Sicut enim iniusta damnatio non perimit innocentem, ita gratiosa remissio non liberat peccatorem, quem omnium iudicum iudice Deo propria

[1] Cf. Luc. v. 25. [2] Num. xxiii. 19 (cf. Judith viii. 15).

2 signatum] Morin suggests dignatum 3 lugentis || consulabuntur 4 mortifere 5 adque 11 iudicio 14 aeget 16 praecatur 18 arguetur 20 depraecandi 24 conmunio

6 **Dominum maiestatis**] cf. *de dim. app.* 2 unigeniti maiestatem; *de rat. fid.* 4 diminutionem senserit suae naturae suaeque maiestatis; *de Sp. s. pot.* 17 Spiritus sancti maiestas; *de symb.* 7 sua maiestate sanctificat; *Te Deum vv.* 6, 10.

paenitudo non soluerit. Itaque ipsa secundum prudentiam tuam iudica, si potes licitam et insontem tibi facere coniunctionem istam communicando, quam peccati esse confessa es supplicando. Si enim recte et iure nupsisti, cur indulgentiam postulasti? Si autem ideo supplicasti, quia te rem inlicitam usurpasse uidisti, quomodo ipsa te fallis, ut nupsisse te dicas, cum manifestum sit humanis pariter et diuinis legibus non nuptias sed adulteria damnari? Credere enim debes euangelio, quia *nemo potest peccata dimittere nisi solus Deus*[1] et specialiter Christus: quia *Pater neminem iudicat, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio*[2]. Quid ergo confert peccatoris saluti aut remedio uulnerati humana remissio, si desit diuina curatio?

Ecce cui supplicaueras abiit, et qui indulserat praeteriuit. Quae est ergo inpensae supplicationis utilitas, cum indulgentiae auctor extinctus sit? Sed iterum supplicabis, ut et augustis principibus qualitatem coniunctionis tuae supplicando fatearis: qui tanto magis horrebunt talem precum tuarum causam, si in precibus mentita non fueris, quanto studiosius et uerius Christiani sunt; ut et si pietas eorum deflectatur ad indulgentiam, fides tamen ipsorum non possit probare quod praestat. Quomodo enim probare poterunt Christi iniuriam, qui Christi cultores sunt, ut eum, quem ex sua castitate placabilem sibi faciunt, ex aliena libidine offendere uellent? Ergo et si iterata supplicatione beneficium inpunitatis acceperis, non te ita decipiat securitas temporalis, ut perpetuam tibi neglegas prouidere; quia secundum supradictam ex euangelii ueritate sententiam nemo potest peccata

[1] Luc. v. 21. [2] Io. v. 22.

9 debis 11 iudicio 12 peccatores 15 abiit et] abutet
16 inpense 24 potuerunt 25 eum] cum 27 acciperis

dimittere nisi solus Deus, quia nemo potest animas saluas facere nisi qui eas et occidere potest. Quis enim in creatura Dei siue uisibili siue inuisibili ullam habeat potestatem nisi creator ipse, qui necesse est ut dominus sit operum suorum? Itaque et si mille regum mortalium indulgentiis absoluta discesseris, semper tamen Christo rea uincta durabis, nisi te ipse qui laesus et spretus est Christus absoluerit.

Sed dum in hoc saeculo conmoraris (credo enim recordari te quod hucusque tenuisti: *In inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi*[1]*?* et *Pro hac*, id est anima, *orabit omnis sancte sapiens in tempore oportuno*[2]), doceat te propheta agere paenitentiam in uerbis illis quibus ait: *Laboraui in gemitu meo, lauabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrimis stratum meum rigabo*[3]. Pone in conspectu Domini lacrimas tuas[4] et dic ei secundum eundem prophetam: *Erraui sicut ouis quae perierat*[5], require ancillam tuam et inuentam uiuifica: *remitte mihi ut refrigerer priusquam abeam*[6], et *dic animae meae, Salus tua ego sum*[7]; *quia tu Dominus singulariter in spe constituisti me*[8], qui non iustis sed peccatoribus paenitentiam posuisti, et dixisti malle te reditum quam *interitum peccatoris*[9]. *Conuerte planctum meum in gaudium mihi*[10]*: auerte faciem tuam a meritis meis*[11], et *redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui*[12]*: exitus enim aquarum transierunt oculi mei* in effusione lacrimarum, *quia non custodierunt legem tuam*[13], dum aspiciunt uanitatem et facti sunt fenestrae diabolo ad

[1] Ps. vi. 6. [2] Ps. xxxi. 6. [3] Ps. vi. 7.
[4] Cf. Ps. lv. 9. [5] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 176.
[6] Ps. xxxix. (xxxviii.) 14. [7] Ps. xxxv. (xxxiv.) 3.
[8] Ps. iv. 10. [9] Ezech. xxxiii. 11.
[10] Ps. xxx. (xxix.) 12. [11] Ps. li. (l.) 11.
[12] Ps. li. (l.) 14. [13] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 136.

1 dimittire 3 creature 5 mile 14 noctis 16 profeta 17 oues 18 refrigerim 19 habeam

mortis introitum[1]. Si haec umquam uel sero conpuncta, quae et didicisti et tenuisti et ante Domino fallendo cantasti, uerba nunc in causa reconciliationis tuae dixeris, uenient tibi miserationes eius et uiues; et cum conuersa ingemueris, salua eris. Et sicut a die corruptionis praeteritae integritatis gloriam perdidisti, ita si resipiscens ad pastorem tuum exoptata illi ouicula reuertaris, non reputabitur tibi crimen auersionis, quia per gratiam reuersionis aboletur. *Fidelis* enim *sermo Domini et omni acceptione dignus*[2], quia omnem hominem secundum eam uiam iudicabit, in qua illum dies resolutionis inuenerit.

Misericors et miserator Dominus, patiens et multae misericordiae[3], *misereatur tui secundum magnam misericordiam suam et secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum*[4] et tribuat tibi cor tribulatum de spiritu conpunctionis et intellectum prudentiae, ut scias et intellegas a quo rege uel iudice indulgentiam postulare debeas: quia non deletur peccatum tuum peruerso ambitu, sed augetur, ut in quo Christus offenditur homo rogetur, cum et hominis potestas in Dei manu sit potius quam Dei in arbitrio praesumtionis humanae. Memento scriptum: *Si homo in hominem peccauerit sacerdos orabit pro eo: si autem in Dominum peccauerit*, *quis exorabit pro eo*[5], nisi ipse qui peccauit ipsum, quem peccando exacerbauerat, orando placauerit? Opto tibi tales ad Christum preces et ueram ab ipso indulgentiam, quae te ab ipsius Domini iudicio liberet, filia interim doloris mei, donec ad ipsum ancilla simplex redeas, cui te per officii mei ministerium in aeternum sponsam uirginem consecraui, ut efficiaris mihi filia consolationis et gaudii.

[1] Cf. Ier. ix. 21. [2] 1 Tim. i. 15; iv. 9.
[3] Ps. ciii. (cii.) 8. [4] Ps. li. (l.) 3. [5] 1 Reg. ii. 25.

4 miserationis || uiuis 9 abolitur 11 qua] quo 12 multae] multa et 22 sacerdus 24 quem] que || exaceruauerat

TESTIMONIA

1. Gennadii *de uiris inlustribus*, c. 22.
2. Germinii *epistola ap. s. Hil. Pict. frag.* xv.
3. Paulini Nolani (1) epistula xxviiii. § 14, (2) Carmina xvii. et xxvii.
4. Cassiodori *de instit. diu. litt.* c. 16.
5. Cod. lat. Monacensis 6325, s. ix. [Ordo Arnonis Salisburgensis?]

I. GENNADIVS

Catalog. uir. inlustr. c. 22.

Niceta Remesianae[1] ciuitatis episcopus composuit simplici et nitido sermone competentibus ad baptismum instructionis libellos sex. In quibus continet primus, qualiter se debeant habere competentes, qui ad baptismi gratiam cupiunt peruenire. Secundus est de gentilitatis erroribus, in quo dicit suo paene tempore Melodium quendam patremfamilias ob liberalitatem et Gadarium rusticum ob fortitudinem ab ethnicis esse inter deos translatos. Tertius liber de fide unicae maiestatis, quartus aduersus genethliologiam, quintus de symbolo, sextus de agni pascalis uictima. Edidit et ad lapsam uirginem libellum, omnibus labentibus emendationis incentiuum.

[1] This form of the name is rightly given by at least one MS., S. Germanensis 1278, now Bibl. Nat. Paris. *lat.* 12161, *saec.* vii., quoted by Zahn, *Neuere Beiträge*, p. 98, n. 1. Cod. Vatic. Reg. *saec.* vii. has Niceta (or -as), Cod. Montepessulanus *saec.* viii./ix. has Niceta (or -as).

2. Germinii Epistola

S. Hil. Pict. Frag. xv.

Incipit rescriptum Germinii ad Rufianum, Palladium, et ceteros.

Dominis Fratribus religiosissimis Rufiano, Palladio, Seuerino, Nichae, Heliodoro, Romulo, Muciano et Stercorio Germinius in Domino S.

1. Vitalis viri clarissimi militantis in officio sublimis praefecturae relatione comperimus, desiderare sanctitatem uestram, significari uobis aperte quid est, quod de fide nostra Valenti, Vrsacio, Gaio et Paulo displiceat. Necessarium duxi, his litteris patefaciendum sanctitati uestrae, et id, quod in uobis ipsis ab initio esse confido, dicere. Nos hoc quod et a patribus traditum accepimus, et diuinis Scripturis quod semel didicimus, et cotidie docemus, Christum Dei Filium Dominum nostrum per omnia Patri similem, excepta in natiuitate, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, uirtutem de uirtute, integrum de integro, perfectum de perfecto, ante saecula et ante uniuersa, quae intelligi uel dici possunt, genitum, cuius natiuitatem nemo scit nisi solus Pater, ipso Filio adserente: Quia nemo nouit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis nouit nisi Filius, et cui uoluerit Filius reuelare[1]: per quem facta sunt omnia, sine quo factum est nihil[2], secundum diuinas uoces ipsius Saluatoris nostri Filii dicentis, Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor[3]; et iterum, Quaecumque enim Pater facit, haec et similiter Filius facit[4]; et iterum, Ego et Pater unum

[1] Matt. xi. 27. [2] Io. i. 3. [3] ibid. v. 18. [4] ibid. 19.

sumus[1]; et iterum, Qui me uidit, uidit et Patrem[2]; et iterum, Quomodo Pater uitam habet in semet ipso, ita dedit et Filio uitam habere in semet ipso[3]; et iterum, Sicut Pater suscitat mortuos et uiuificat, ita et Filius quos uult uiuificat[4]; et iterum, Creditis in Deum, et in me credite[5]; et iterum, Neque enim Pater iudicat quemquam, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio; ut omnes honorificent Filium sicut honorificant Patrem[6]; et iterum cui Pater dixit, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram[7]; nec dixit, ad imaginem tuam, uel, ad imaginem meam, ne aliquam dissimilitudinem in Filii sui diuinitate demonstraret: sed propterea coniunxit, ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, ut Filium suum sibi similem per omnia Deum manifestaret. Iterum Euangelista, Vidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratia et ueritate[8]. Et Apostolus ad Corinthios: In quibus deus huius saeculi excaecauit mentes infidelium, ut non refulgerent inluminatione euangelii gloriae Christi, quae est imago Dei[9]. Et iterum idem Apostolus: Et transtulit nos in regno filii caritatis suae, in quo habemus redemtionem et remissionem peccatorum, qui est imago Dei inuisibilis, primogenitus omnis creaturae[10]. Et iterum idem Apostolus: Hoc enim sentite in uobis, quod et in Christo Iesu, qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem Deo, sed semet ipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus[11]. Quis non intelligat, quia quemadmodum secundum serui formam uera fuit caro nostra in Christo; ita et in Dei forma uera sit diuinitas Patris in Filio? Et iterum:

[1] Ioh. x. 30. [2] ibid. xiv. 9. [3] ibid. v. 26.
[4] ibid. v. 21. [5] ibid. xiv. 1. [6] ibid. v. 22, 23.
[7] Gen. i. 26. [8] Io. i. 14. [9] 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[10] Col. i. 14, 15. [11] Phil. ii. 5.

Videte ne quis uos seducat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa huius mundi, et non secundum Christum; quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter[1]. Si ergo omnis plenitudo diuinitatis inhabitat in Christo, iam non ex parte similis et ex parte dissimilis, sicut nunc asserunt, qui propter contentionem suae libidinis retrorsum abeuntes, semet ipsos a nobis auerterunt.

2. Nam quod putant se pro magno de diuinis Scripturis proferre, ut dicant Christum facturam et creaturam: e contrario nos secundum Scripturas dicimus uiam, et ianuam, et lapidem offensionis, et petram scandali, et fundamentum, et brachium, et manum, et sapientiam, et uerbum, et agnum, et ouem, et pastorem, et sacerdotem, et uitem, et diem et alia. Sed haec omnia sic intelligimus et dicimus, ut uirtutes et operationes Filii Dei intelligamus, non ut diuinam eius ex Patre natiuitatem huiuscemodi nominibus comparemus; quia ex nihilo omnia per Filium facta sunt, Filius autem non ex nihilo, sed ex Deo patre est genitus.

3. Miror autem praedictum Valentem aut oblitum esse, aut certe subdole dissimulare, quid in praeteritum gestum definitumque sit. Nam sub bonae memoriae Constantio Imperatore quando inter quosdam coeperat esse de fide dissentio, in conspectu eiusdem Imperatoris, praesentibus Georgio episcopo Alexandrinorum ecclesiae, Pancratio Pelusinorum, Basilio episcopo tunc Ancyritano, praesente etiam ipso Valente et Vrsacio, et mea paruitate, post habitam usque in noctem de fide disputationem et ad certam regulam perductam, Marcum ab omnibus nobis electum fidem dictasse, in qua fide sic

[1] Col. ii. 8.

conscriptum est: *Filium similem Patri per omnia, ut sanctae dicunt et docent Scripturae:* cuius integrae professioni consensimus omnes, et manu nostra subscripsimus. Si autem nunc aliquid spiritus huius mundi suggerat, ex aperto adhuc scire non possumus. Nam ut nos professi sumus de Scripturis per omnia similem Filium Patri, excepta natiuitate; exponant et illi de Scripturis, quem ad modum parte similis sit, parte dissimilis.

4. Et ideo, Fratres dilectissimi, haec intrepidanter et sine mora uestrae dilectionis ad conscientiam, per Cyriacum officialem, cuius prima inuenta occasio est post Carinium diaconem quem ad uos misi, professionem destinaui: ut per uestram quoque uigilantissimam deuotionem apud Deum uniuersae fraternitati intimetur, ne quis fallacis diaboli laqueis ignorans implicetur. Iam uestrae est unanimitatis, rescribere mihi quid uobis sanctus Spiritus suggerat. Sane intimo caritati uestrae, me huic epistolae, propterea quod manus dolerem, subscribere non potuisse: subscribendum autem mandasse fratribus et conpresbyteris nostris Innocentio, Octauio et Catulo.

3. S. PAVLINI NOLANI EPISCOPI

Epist. xxviiii. 14.

Non tuli, frater, ut te ista nesciret, ut gratiam in te Dei plenius nosceret, tuo te illi magis quam meo sermone patefeci. Martinum enim nostrum illi studiosissimae talium historiarum ipse recitaui. quo genere te et uenerabili episcopo atque doctissimo Nicetae, qui ex Dacia Romanis merito admirandus aduenerat, et plurimis Dei sanctis in ueritate non magis tui praedicator quam

mei iactoris reuelaui. gloria enim mihi est diligi te et amari, quem famulum ueritatis consona linguae uita testatur.

Eiusdem carmen xvii. (ed. Hartel).

Iamne abis et nos properans relinquis,
quos tamen sola regione linquis
semper adnexa sine fine tecum
mente futuros?
iamne discedis reuocante longe
quam colis terra? sed et hic resistis,
sancte Niceta, quoniam et profectum
corde tenemus.
i memor nostri remaneque uadens
spiritu praesens, animis uicissim
insitus nostris, trahe ferque tecum
quos geris in te,
o nimis terra et populi beati,
quos modo a nobis remeans adibis,
quos tu accedens pede uisitabit
Christus et ore.
ibis Arctoos procul usque Dacos,
ibis Epiro gemina uidendus,
et per Aegeos penetrabis aestus
Thessalonicen.
Apulis sed nunc uia prima terris
te uehet longo spatiosa plano,
qua Canusino medicata flagrant
uellera fuco.
ast ubi paulum uia proferetur,
det, precor, mites tibi Christus aestus
et lenis spiret sine nube siccis
aura Calabris.

sicut antiqui manibus prophetae
per sacramentum crucis unda misso
dulcuit ligno[1] posuitque tristes
merra liquores,
sic tibi caelum modo temperetur,
et leui sudo tenuatus aer
flatibus puris placide salubres
spiret in auras,
qui solet flatu grauis e palustri
anguium tetros referens odores
soluere in morbos tumefacta crasso
corpora uento,
quem potens rerum dominus fugari
siue mutari iubeat suoque
nunc sacerdoti bona sanitatis
flabra ministret.
sicut Aegypto pereunte quondam
noctis et densae tenebris operta,
qua dei uiui sacra gens agebat
lux erat orbi,
quae modo in toto species probatur
orbe, cum sanctae pia pars fidei
fulgeat Christo, reliquos tenebris
obruat error:
sic meo, qua se feret actus ora,
cuncta Nicetae dominus secundet,
donec optato patriam uehatur
laetus ad urbem.
perge, Niceta, bene qua recurris
prosperos Christo comitante cursus,
quem tui dudum populi fatigant
nocte dieque

[1] Ex. xv. 25.

te reposcentes, ut aeger leuandis
cum satis imbrem sitit utque molles
cum suas matres uituli represso
lacte requirunt.
unde nos iustis precibus tuorum,
qui suum recte repetunt parentem,
cogimur uicto, licet inrepleti,
cedere uoto.
et quia spes iam rapitur tenendi,
urget affectus placitis fauere;
iam uias illas licet oderimus
quae rapiunt te,
odimus quamuis, sed easdem amamus.
odimus quod te retrahunt, amamus
quod tuum nobis procul adtulerunt
cernere uultum.
quas peradstricti superante amore
nunc tibi sterni faciles precamur
praeuio terris pelagoque summi
nomine Christi
qui tibi factis iter omne campis
arduos montes reprimat cauasque
inpleat ualles, salebras adaequet,
iungat hiatus.
te per Hydruntum Lupiasque uectum
innubae fratrum simul et sororum
ambient uno dominum canentes
ore cateruae.
quis mihi pennas daret ut columbae[1],
ut choris illis citus interessem,
qui deum Christum duce te canentes
sidera pulsant?

[1] Ps. liv. 7.

sed licet pigro teneamur aegri
corporis nexu, tamen euolamus
mentibus post te dominoque tecum
dicimus hymnos.
nam tuis intus simul inplicati
sensibus, uel cum canis ac precaris,
cum tua de te prece cumque uoce
promimur et nos.
inde iam terris subeunte ponto
stratus Hadriae sinus obsequetur,
unda procumbet zephyroque leni
uela tumescent.
ibis inlabens pelago iacenti
et rate armata titulo salutis
uictor antemna crucis ibis, undis
tutus et austris.
nauitae laeti solitum celeuma
concinent uersis modulis in hymnos
et piis ducent comites in aequor
uocibus auras.
praecinet cunctis tuba ceu resultans
lingua Nicetae modulata Christum,
psallet aeternus citharista toto
aequore Dauid.
audient *Amen* tremefacta cete
et sacerdotem domino canentem
laeta lasciuo procul admeabunt
monstra natatu.
undique adludent patulo uirentes
ore delphines, sine uoce quamquam
aemula humanis tamen eloquentur
gaudia linguis.
nam deo quid non sapit atque uiuit,
cuius et uerbo sata cuncta rerum?

hinc dei laudem maris ima noscunt
mutaque clamant.
testis est nobis ueteris prophetae[1]
belua ad nutum domini profundo
excita, ut mersum caperet denique
redderet haustum.
sed modo ad nostrum ferus ipse uatem
auribus tantum pia deuorabit
cantica; inpastam saturabit aluum
carmine pastus.
qua libet pergas iter, et per undas
perque tellurem licet et per hostes,
ibis armatus galea salutis,
uertice Christo.
aduolet missus Raphael; ut olim[2]
Tobiae Medis, ita prosequendo
ipse Nicetae comes usque Dacos
angelus adsit.
ducat hunc aeque famulum suum dux
ille, qui quondam profugum superbi[3]
fratris a uultu deus in salutem
duxit Iacob.
namque Niceta fugatiuus aeque est;
quod semel fecit patriarcha, semper
hic facit, mundo fugiens ad alti
moenia caeli;
et gradus illos quibus ille uidit
angelos uersa uice commeantes[4],
iste contendit superante nubes
scandere uita,
per crucis scalas properans in astra,
qua deus nitens ad humum coruscis

[1] Ion. ii. 1. [2] Tob. v. 5. [3] Gen. xxviii. 13.
[4] Gen. xxviii. 12.

e thronis spectat uarios labores
bellaque mentis.
tuque, Niceta, bene nominatus
corporis uictor, uelut ille dictus
Israel[1], summum quia uidit alto
corde satorem.
unde Nicetes meus adprobatur
Israelites sine fraude uerus[2],
qui deum cernit solidae fidei
lumine Christum.
hic deus noster, uia nostra semper,
sit comes nobis, sit et antecessor,
semitis lumen pedibusque nostris
sermo lucerna[3],
qua per obscuri uada caeca saecli
luminis ueri face dirigamur,
donec optatos liceat salutis
tangere portus,
quos modo undosum petimus per aequor,
dum uagae mentis fluitamus aestu,
terreo tamquam fragili carina
corpore uecti.
sed gubernaclo crucis hanc regente
nunc ratem in nobis pia uela cordis
pandimus Christo referente laetos
flamine dextro.
ergo dux idem modo prosequatur
te uia, qua nunc properas reuerteris
ire, Niceta, patrioque reddat
limine tutum.
sed freto emenso superest uiarum
rursus in terra labor, ut ueharis

[1] Gen. xxxii. 28. [2] Io. i. 47. [3] Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 105.

usque felices quibus es sacerdos
praestitus oras.
tu Philippeos Macetum per agros,
per Tomitanam gradieris urbem,
ibis et Scupos patriae propinquos
Dardanus hospes.
o quibus iam tunc resonabit illa
gaudiis tellus, ubi tu rigentes
edoces Christo fera colla miti
subdere gentes!
quaque Riphaeis Boreas in oris
adligat densis fluuios pruinis,
hic gelu mentes rigidas superno
igne resoluis.
nam simul terris animisque duri
et sua Bessi niue duriores
nunc oues facti duce te gregantur
pacis in aulam.
quasque ceruices dare seruituti
semper a bello indomiti negarunt,
nunc iugo ueri domini subactas
sternere gaudent.
nunc magis diues pretio laboris
Bessus exultat; quod humi manuque
ante quaerebat, modo mente caelo
conligit aurum.
o uices rerum! bene uersa forma!
inuii montes prius et cruenti
nunc tegunt uersos monachis latrones
pacis alumnos.
sanguinis quondam, modo terra uitae est,
uertitur caelo pia uis latronum,
et fauet Christus supera occupanti
regna rapinae.

mos ubi quondam fuerat ferarum,
nunc ibi ritus uiget angelorum,
et latet iustus quibus ipse latro
uixit in antris.
praeda fit sanctus uetus ille praedo,
et gemit uersis homicida damnis,
iure nudatus spoliante Christo
criminis armis.
interit casu Satanae uicissim
inuidus Cain[1], rediuiuus Abel
pascit effusi pretio redemptos
sanguinis agnos.
euge, Niceta, bone serue Christi,
qui tibi donat lapides in astra
uertere et uiuis sacra templa saxis
aedificare.
auios saltus, iuga uasta lustras,
dum uiam quaeris, sterilemque siluam
mentis incultae superans in agros
uertis opimos.
te patrem dicit plaga tota Borrae,
ad tuos fatus Scytha mitigatur
et sui discors fera te magistro
pectora ponit.
et Getae currunt et uterque Dacus,
qui colit terrae medio uel ille
diuitis multo boue pilleatus
accola ripae.
de lupis hoc est uitulos creare[2]
et boui iunctum palea leonem
pascere et tutis caua uiperarum
pandere paruis.

[1] Gen. iv. [2] Es. xi. 7, 8.

namque mansuetu pecori coire
bestias pulsa feritate suades,
qui feras mentes hominum polito
inbuis ore.
orbis in muta regione per te
barbari discunt resonare Christum
corde Romano placidamque casti
uiuere pacem.
sic tuo mitis lupus est ouili,
pascitur concors uitulus leoni,
paruus extracto trucibus cauernis
aspide ludit.
callidos auri legulos in aurum
uertis inque ipsis imitaris ipsos,
e quibus uiuum fodiente uerbo
eruis aurum:
hos opes condens domino perenni,
his sacrum lucris cumulans talentum,
audies: intra domini perennis
gaudia laetus.
his, precor, cum te domus alma sancto
ceperit fratrum numerosa coetu
in choris, et nos pietate cari
pectoris adde.
nam deo grates, quod amore tanto
nos tibi adstrinxit per operta uincla,
uis ut internam ualeat catenam
rumpere nulla.
unde conplexi sine fine carum
pectus haeremus laqueo fideli,
quaque contendas comites erimus
mente sequaci.
caritas Christi bene fusa caelo
cordibus nostris ita nectit intus,

ut nec abiuncto procul auferamur
orbe remoti.
nulla nos aetas tibi, <nulla> labes
orbis aut alter neque mors reuellet;
corporis uita moriente uita
uiuet amoris.
dum graues istos habitamus artus,
mente te semper memori colemus;
tu, petes, simus simul in perenni
tempore tecum.
namque te celsum meritis in altum
culmen inponet pretiosa uirtus
inque uiuentum super urbe magnis
turribus addet.
nos locis quantum meritis dirempti
eminus celsis humiles patronis
te procul sacris socium cateruis
suspiciemus.
quis die nobis dabit hoc in illa,
ut tui stemus lateris sub umbra[1]
et tuae nobis requietis aura
temperet ignem?
tunc precor, nostri nimium memento
et patris sancti gremio recumbens
roscido nobis digito furentem
discute flammam.
nunc abi, felix, tamen ut recedens
semper huc ad nos animo recurre;
esto nobiscum, licet ad paternam
ueneris urbem.
non enim unius populi magistrum,
sed nec unius dedit esse ciuem
te deus terrae; patria ecce nostra
te sibi sumit.

[1] Luc. xvi. 24.

nunc tuos aequa pietate utrisque
diuide affectus et amore nobis,
ciuibus uultu, gemina morare
ciuis in ora.
forsan et maior patria haec habenda,
non manufactis ubi contineris
pectorum tectis hominesque uiuam
incolis urbem.
sicut antistes, ita dignus almi
hospes es Christi, quia Christianis
mentibus consors habitas erile
accola templum.
iam uale nobis et in omne nostri
diligens aeuum bonus usque finem
duc bonum cursum positamque iustis
sume coronam.

Eiusdem Carm. XXVII.

* * * * *

Salue cara dies, salue, mihi lux mea, salue,
semper festa mihi; sed in hoc mihi clarior anno
orta refulsisti, quia cum Felicis honore
Nicetam reuehis, sanctorum ut amore duorum
binum habeam natalem hodie, quo corpore sumpti
martyris excessum celebrans et corpore prompti
ecce sacerdotis reditum satiatus adoro,
suscipiens humili metantem in pectore Christum.
exultet mea nunc anima edicatque quod olim
sponsa canebat amans domino uocalis amanti:
imber abit, discessit hiems, uox turturis altae
in nostra tellure sonat, dat uitis odorem[1],

[1] Cant. ii. 10—12.

florida et in terris miramur lilia caeli.

iunctus adest domini Christi comitatus amicis
Nicetes.
uita pudicitiae et liquido mens candida uero
Nicetam faciunt, flores et aromata Christi.

uideo praesenti lumine coram
Niceten redere mihi, uisoque parente,
cuius prae cunctis amor in me regnat, et ipse
Nicetes fio, benedicti nominis instar
mente gerens, quae nunc uoto uictore triumphat.

nam quis tam claro poterit non cernere signo
hoc prece mi uenisse tua, ut, quod sumere uotis
uix poteram aut ipso saltem mihi fingere somno,
Nicetam rursus coram Felicis in ipso
natali uisu simul amplexuque tenerem
atque iterum sub eo canerem mea debita, Felix,
auditore tibi?

231 et quia Nicetes, domini puer atque sacerdos,
longinqua tellure mihi modo missus ad istum
ecce diem uenit, uir tam bonus ore magistro
quam sacer est uictore animo uel corpore uicto

248 namque et Nicetes domino benedictus ut ille[1]
mitis

266 sic ego Niceta uiso quasi fonte reperto
sicut ouis sitiens ad uiua fluenta cucurri.

315 sentio Nicetam, dum proximus adsidet et me
tangit et adiuncto lateri uicinus anhelat.

[1] Iacob.

tu, sancte, paterno
suscipe me, Niceta, sinu, et dum pectore docto
sustineor caput in blando mihi corde reclinans,
sal tuus insalsum me condiat et sitientes
diues uena riget riuo mihi perpete sensus.
dicam iterum gaudens et adhuc uix muneris huius
credulus ingeminabo rogans: dic, quaeso, redisti
teque ipsum teneo Nicetam, in quo hactenus aeger
noctes atque dies anima tabente pependi?
uenisti tandem quarto mihi redditus anno?
sed grates Christo, quia te uel sero reuexit.
quam metui ne te mediis regionibus hostis
disclusum opposita bellorum nube teneret!
sed desideriis superantibus obuia nobis
uincula rupisti, nec te mare nec labor ullus
nec Gothici tenuere metus nec frigora longis
dura uiis; nec in tantis, Niceta, fuisti.
casibus adfectu uictus uictorque benigno,
fortis et infirmus pariter, sed utrumque potenter,
uictus amicitia, uictus Felicis amore,
uicisti duros tenera pietate labores.
nunc age, sancte parens, aurem mihi dede manumque;
nodemus socias in uincula mutua palmas
inque uicem nexis alterno foedere dextris
sermones uarios gressu spatiante seramus.
enarrare libet simul et monstrare parenti
sollicito nostros toto quo defuit actus
tempore. nam cui iure magis mea gesta retexam
Felicisque manu nobis operata reuoluam,
quam cui cura sumus? gemino qui iure magistri
et patris ut bene gesta probet, sic inproba damnet,
corrigat errata et placidus disponat agenda;
inperfecta iuuet precibus, perfecta sacerdos

dedicet, atque ita se Felicis in aedibus ultro
atque citro referat, tamquam ipsum pectore toto
Felicem gerat et patria se iactet in aula.
ergo ueni, pater, et socio mihi iungere passu,
dum te circumagens operum per singula duco.

adsere, Niceta, prece quod precor, et simul omnes,
qui simul huc sancta pro religione coistis,
deuoti domino et gratantes dicite mecum:
haec tibi, Christe deus, tenui fragilique paratu
pro nobis facimus.

4. CASSIODORI.

Cassiodorus, *De instit. diu. litt.* c. 16:

Si quis uero de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto aliquid summatim praeoptat attingere, nec se mauult longa lectione fatigari, legat NICETI EPISCOPI librum quem de fide conscripsit, et doctrinae caelestis claritate completus in contemplationem diuinam compendiosa breuitate perducetur. Qui uoluminibus sancti Ambrosii sociatus est, quos ad Gratianum principem destinauit. O inaestimabilis uirtus, qua creatoris aperti sunt caeli, sancta Trinitas cordibus fidelium patefacta resplenduit, et paganitas quae honorem occupauerat alienum a uero Domino confutata discessit.

5. ORDO DE CATECHIZANDIS RVDIBVS.

Monacensis Cod. lat. 6325, *saec.* ix.

fol. 139 *v*. Postea uero dicendum est breuiter qualiter ipsum symbolum intellegere ualeat. sicut et sanctae

Dei ecclesiae tractauerunt doctores, beatus scilicet Athanasius, Hilarius, Niceta, Hieronimus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gennadius, Fulgentius, Isidorus et ceteri; uel sicut uenerabiles magistri et antecessores nostri nos docuerunt.

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